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THE CONQUERORS OF
THE NEW WORLD
AND THEIR BONDSMEN

BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS
WHICH LED TO NEGRO SLAVERY IN
THE WEST INDIES AND
AMERICA

By Sir Arthur Helps (1813-1875)

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TO THE

REV. ROBERT PHELPS D.D.

MASTER OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE

CAMBRIDGE.

My dear Friend,

I BELIEVE it is a general complaint of authors that dedications and epiſtles dedicatory are very intolerable things to write; which I feel to be true, though in the preſent caſe it does not leſſen in the leaſt the pleaſure I have in inſcribing your name to this book, as a memorial of our long and uninterrupted friendſhip.

Hiſtory being a favourite ſtudy of yours, you will need but little preface or explanation, to make you take an intereſt in the following work, even if your wonted re-

gard for the author were not ſure to win your attention to anything which has been for ſome time the daily labour of his life. Still, in order that you may better underſtand the nature and aim of this narrative, I will tell you how I came to write it.

Wiſhing to ſubmit to the "Friends in Council," whom you know of, certain eſſays on the ſubject of ſlavery, I had occaſion to refer to ſome of the general works of hiſtory which treat, incidentally, of this matter. The more I read, the leſs ſatisfied I felt with the reſult of that reading, and the greater wiſh I experienced to make out ſomething like the full and true ſtory for myſelf.

To do that, it was neceſſary to refer to certain Spaniſh records which remain unpubliſhed: theſe I was not only permitted to examine and to copy from, but alſo aſſiſted in doing ſo, with a kindneſs and a frankneſs for which I feel grateful to the Hiſtorical Academy at Madrid, and its officers.

I may mention that no one could have made much of theſe papers, unleſs with very long ſtudy, if the taſk of collecting and arranging them had not been undertaken by one ſo competent to it as the hiſtorian Muñoz, whoſe accuracy and reſearch deſerve the higheſt praiſe, and whoſe early death was a loſs to European literature.

With regard to the general aim of the work, I can beſt explain that to you by ſhowing the want which this narrative is intended to ſupply.

In conſidering the preſent condition of the Weſt Indies or the ſouthern States of America, it may occur even to a comparatively unobſervant perſon, that theſe countries are largely peopled by a race not native to the ſoil: he hears of another race which in ſome parts has entirely paſſed away; and he ſees a third which is and was dominant over both. He naturally

wiſhes to know the account of theſe things, thinking rightly, that ſtudy of the paſt furniſhes the ſteadieſt lights for deciphering the preſent; or, as the Spaniards have it, "*De la relacion veridica del hecho, nace y* "*tiene origen el derecho*" which, being ſomewhat liberally rendered, runs thus, The true verſion of the ſtory gives the right view of the caſe.

What I aim at, then, in this narration, is to ſhow ſuch an enquirer how the black people came to the New World, how the brown people faded away from certain countries in it; and what part the white people had in theſe doings.

This is not an eaſy undertaking. You, as an artiſt, know how difficult it is from ſcattered objects, pictureſque and intereſting enough, perhaps, in themſelves, but not ſo connected together as readily to fall into any harmonious grouping, to ſelect thoſe which ſhall fully repreſent the locality meant to be depicted, and yet not form an

unpleaſing picture. You will, therefore, be indulgent to my attempt at a ſimilar piece of compoſition.

I have taken a larger ſcope than was abſolutely needful, in beginning with the Portugueſe diſcoveries in Africa, which I might have ſuppoſed to be known to my readers. But I have little ſcruple in doing this, as I generally find I gain moſt from thoſe books which preſume the reader to be moſt ignorant. Before ſtudying this ſubject of ſlavery I had no knowledge of what may be ſuppoſed to be the well-known facts of the caſe; and as I traced up the matter to its ſource for my own information, ſo my narrative is ſimply formed by retracing my ſteps.

I have ſaid enough in explanation of the book, and have now only to commend it to your friendly peruſal.

I am glad that this happens to be one of your years of office as Vice-Chancellor, as, in dedicating this book to you now, I have

the additional pleaſure of paying a mark of reſpect to the firſt officer in a Univerſity which I always look upon with due filial reverence and gratitude.

I remain,

My dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

THE AUTHOR.

London, July 1848.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—DISCOVERY OF THE CANARY ISLANDS—BETHENCOURT—PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA UNDER PRINCE HENRY.

THE hiſtory of every nation tells of ſome great tranſaction peculiar to that nation, ſomething which aptly illuſtrates the particular characteriſtics of the people, which ſhows, as we may ſay, the part in human nature which that nation explains and renders viſible. In Engliſh hiſtory, the conteſt between the Crown and the Parliament: in that of France, the French Revolution: in that of Germany, the religious wars, are ſuch tranſactions. All nations of the ſame ſtanding have portions of their hiſtory much alike; border wars, inteſtine diviſions, conteſts about the ſucceſſion to the throne, upriſings againſt favorites, and other matters, about which if you put differ-

ent names to the account of the ſame tranſaction, it will do very well for the hiſtory of various nations, and nobody would feel any ſtrangeneſs or irrelevancy in the ſtory, whether it were told of France, England, Spain or Germany. Carrying on the idea to the hiſtory of our ſyſtem, if the other worlds around us are peopled with beings not eſſentially unlike ourſelves, there may be amongſt them plenty of Alexanders, Cæſars, and Napoleons; all that conquering work of theirs may be commonplace enough in many planets, and thus the thing moſt worthy to be noticed in the records of our Earth, may be its commercial ſlavery and its ſlave trade. For we may hope, though it be to our ſhame, that they have not got theſe elſewhere.

Black againſt us, and almoſt unaccountably mean and cruel as much of this hiſtory is, ſtill it is not altogether without ſomething to be ſaid for us on the other ſide; and is by no means deſtitute of the higheſt matters of human intereſt. The hiſtory of ſlavery is not merely an account of commercial greedineſs and reckleſs cruelty carried to the uttermoſt; but embodies the efforts of the greateſt men of many periods, their errors, their diſputations, their bewilderments: it partakes largely of the nice queſtions canvaſſed by

eccleſiaſtics; is combined with the intrigues of courts and cabinets; and, alas! is borne on the winds by the reſolute daring of hardy mariners and far-ſeeing diſcoverers—men who ſhould have been foremoſt in the attack upon all mean cruelty, and ſome of whom thought that they were. Again, in the hiſtory of ſlavery, if it could be well worked out, lie the means of conſidering queſtions of the firſt import touching colonization, agriculture, ſocial order, and government.

The remarkable people connected with the hiſtory of ſlavery are alone ſufficient to give it ſome intereſt. Theſe are the royal family of Portugal throughout the 15th century, with Prince Henry at their head; then there are Ferdinand and Iſabella, Columbus, and the whole band of brave captains before and after him; there are Charles the 5th, Ximenes, Las Caſas, Vieyra, and hoſts of churchmen and ſtateſmen from thoſe times down to the preſent.

Laſtly, there is the fate of one continent, perhaps we may ſay, of two, deeply concerned in the hiſtory of ſlavery.

The importance of the records in this matter is not to be meaſured by the ſhow they make, which is often poor enough. There is many a ſmall ſkirmiſh in the hiſtory of ſlavery which led

to more reſult than pitched battles between rival nations contending apparently for Empire. For the reſults of battles may almoſt be ſaid to depend for importance, not ſo much upon the meaſure of ſucceſs on the occaſion of the battle, or the object of it, as upon the eſſential difference between the parties contending and the opinions that they hold of each other: greatly on the contempt, whether deſerved or not, which the victors have for the vanquiſhed. Suppoſing, therefore, that one nation, or race, commits an error in miſunderſtanding another which it wars ſucceſsfully againſt, the reſult of that war is likely to be larger, eſpecially for evil, as the miſunderſtanding in queſtion is greater. The conſequences of battle, whether between races or individuals, where each knows the worth of the other, are ſeldom ſuch as to obliterate the ſame and courage, or change the whole ſocial aſpect of the vanquiſhed party. But when Spartan conquers Helot, barbarian Goth or Viſigoth ſubdues the poliſhed Roman; or civilized man with his many implements invades and ſubdues the ſimple ſavage; then come the cruelty and dire miſmanagement which are born of ignorance and want of ſympathy. And thus, as in all human affairs, we get to ſee the righteouſneſs that there is in right underſtanding.

" Then ſhalt thou underſtand righteouſneſs, and judg-
" ment and equity; yea every good path.
" When wiſdom entereth into thine heart, and know-
" ledge is pleaſant unto thy ſoul;"

Yet with all this commendation of the intereſt of the ſubject of ſlavery, it muſt be confeſſed that it is a ſubject which lacks dramatic intereſt. It has no one thread to run upon like the account of any man's life, or the hiſtory of a nation. The ſtory of ſlavery is fragmentary, confuſed; in a different ſtate of progreſs in different parts of the world at the ſame time, and deficient in diſtinct epochs to be illuſtrated by great adventures. Moreover, people think that they have already heard all about it; which is not ſo.

In fine, it may be allowed that the reader muſt bring with him much of the intereſt which he is to find in conſidering this ſubject of ſlavery. At the ſame time he may remember that it has been juſtly held, that one element of the ſublime is great extent. In looking over the vaſt moraſs, unmarked by tower, or citadel, or town, which the horizon deſcends upon but does not bound, the ſhaping mind finds more to think of than in the landſcape that laughs with every variety of ſcenic beauty. And here, too, in this

ſubject of ſlavery is one which, be it ever ſo dull, preſents at all times an indefinite extent of human ſtruggle and human ſuffering.

My intention in this work is to make a contribution to the general hiſtory of ſlavery, by giving an account of the origin and progreſs of modern ſlavery, which will embrace the principal events that led to the ſubjection of the Indians of the new world, and to the introduction of negro ſlavery in America and the Weſt Indies.

Diſcovery of the Canary Iſlands.

The hiſtory of modern ſlavery begins naturally with the hiſtory of African diſcovery, and firſt and foremoſt in that was the diſcovery of the Canary Iſlands. Theſe were the "elyſian fields" and "fortunate iſlands" of antiquity. Perhaps there is no country in the world that has been ſo many times diſcovered, conquered, invaded, or fabled about, as theſe iſlands. There is ſcarcely any nation upon earth of any maritime repute that has not had to do with them. Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Moors, Genoeſe, Normans, Portugueſe, and Spaniards of every province, (Arragoneſe, Caſtilians, Gallicians, Biſcayans, Andalucians) have all meddled in this

matter.* The Carthaginians are ſaid to have diſcovered theſe iſlands, and to have reſerved them as an aſylum in caſe of extreme danger to the ſtate. Sertorius, the Roman general who partook the fallen fortunes of Marius, is ſaid to have meditated retreat to theſe "iſlands of the bleſſed," and by ſome writers is ſuppoſed to have gone there. Juba, the Mauritanian prince, ſon of Salluſt's Juba, ſent ſhips to examine them, and has left a deſcription of them.†

Then came the death of empires and darkneſs on the human race, at any rate upon the face of hiſtory. When the world revived again, and eſpecially when the knowledge of the loadſtone began to be rife amongſt mariners, the Canary Iſlands were again diſcovered. Petrarch is referred to by Viera to prove that the Genoeſe ſent out an expedition to theſe iſlands.‡ Las Caſas tells us that an Engliſh or French veſſel bound from France or England to Spain was driven by contrary winds to the Canary Iſlands, and on its

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* Viera y Clavigo. Hiſtoria general de las iſlas de Canaria, Madrid, 1772. lib 3.

† Viera, ib. 1, ſec. 18.

‡ Petrarca de vitâ ſolitariâ, lib. 2, ſec. 6, cap. 3.

return ſpread abroad in France an account of the voyage.* The information thus obtained (and perhaps in other ways of which we have no
1344. record) ſtimulated Don Luis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, great grandſon of Don Alonzo the Wiſe of Caſtile, to ſeek for the inveſtiture of the Crown of the Canaries, which was given to him with much pomp by Clement the 6th, at Avignon, A. D. 1344, Petrarch being preſent.† This ſceptre proved a barren one. The affairs of France, with which the new king of the Canaries was connected, drew off his attention, and he
1399. died without having viſited his dominions. The next authentic information that we have of the Canary Iſlands is that, in the times of Don Juan the Firſt of Caſtile, and of Don Enrique his ſon, theſe iſlands were much viſited by the Spaniards.‡ In 1399 we are told certain Andalucians, Biſcayans, Guipuzcoans, with the licenſe of Don Enrique, fitted out an expedition of five veſſels, and making a deſcent on the iſland of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries, took captive the king

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* Las Caſas. Hiſt. Gen. de las Ind. MSS. primera parte, tom. 1, cap. 17.

† Viera, vol. 1, ſec. 21.

‡ Ortiz de Zuñiga, annales A. D. 1399, p. 262.

and queen, and one hundred and ſeventy of the iſlanders.*

Hitherto, we have had nothing but diſcoveries, rediſcoveries, and invaſions of theſe iſlands, but now a coloniſt appears upon the ſcene. This was Juan de Béthencourt a great Norman baron, lord of St. Martin le Gaillard in the county of Eu, of Béthencourt, of Granville, of Sançerre, and other places in Normandy, and chamberlain to Charles the 6th. of France. Thoſe who are at all familiar with that period, and with the mean and cowardly barbarity which characteriſed the long continued conteſts between the rival factions of Orleans and Burgundy, may well imagine that any Frenchman would then be very glad to find a career in ſome other country. Whatever was the motive of Juan de Béthencourt, he carried out his purpoſe ſtoutly. Leaving his young wife, and ſelling part of his eſtate, he embarked at Rochelle in 1402 with men and means for conquering and eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Canary Iſlands. It is not our intention to give a minute deſcription of this expedition. Suffice it to ſay that Béthencourt met with fully the uſual difficulties, diſtreſſes, treacheries, and diſaſters that

1402. Béthencourt's expedition.

* Viera, lib. 3, ſec. 25.

belong to this race of enterprizing men. After his arrival at the Canaries, finding his means inſufficient, he repaired to the court of Caſtile, did acts of homage to the king, Enrique the 3rd, and afterwards renewed them to his ſon Juan the 2nd, thereby much ſtrengthening the claim which the Spaniſh monarchs already made to the dominion of theſe iſlands. Béthencourt returning to the iſlands with renewed reſources, ſubdued the greater part of them, reduced ſeveral of the natives to ſlavery, introduced the Chriſtian faith,
1405. built churches, and eſtabliſhed vaſſalage. On the occaſion of quitting his colony in A. D. 1405 he called all his vaſſals together, and repreſented to them that he had named for his lieutenant and governor Maciot de Béthencourt his relation; that he himſelf was going to Spain and to Rome to ſeek for a biſhop for them; and he concluded his oration with theſe words:

"My loved vaſſals, great or ſmall, plebeians or nobles, "if you have anything to aſk me or to inform me of, if "you find in my conduct anything to complain of, do "not fear to ſpeak, I deſire to do favour and juſtice to "all the world." *

The aſſembly he was addreſſing contained none of the ſlaves he had made. We are told, how-

* Viera, lib. 4, ſec. 20.

ever, and that by eye-witneſſes, that the poor natives themſelves bitterly regretted his departure, and, wading through the water, followed his veſſel as far as they could. After his viſit to Spain and to Rome, he returned to his paternal domains in Normandy, where, while meditating another voyage to his colony, he died A. D. 1425.

Maciot de Béthencourt ruled for ſome time ſucceſsfully; but, afterwards, falling into diſputes with the biſhop, and things going ill with him, Maciot ſold his rights to Don Enrique the prince of Portugal, alſo, as it appears, to another perſon, and afterwards ſettled in Madeira. The claims to the government of the Canary Iſlands were, for many years, in a moſt entangled ſtate, and the right to the ſovereignty over them was a conſtant ground of diſpute between the crowns of Spain and Portugal: all which, fortunately, it is not needful for us to enter upon.

Thus ended the enterprize of Juan de Béthencourt, which, though it cannot be ſaid to have led to any very large or laſting reſults, yet as it was the firſt modern attempt of the kind, deſerves to be chronicled before we commence with Prince Henry of Portugal's long continued and connected efforts in the ſame direction. The events alſo which preceded and accompanied Béthencourt's

enterprize, need to be recorded to ſhow the part which many nations, eſpecially the Spaniards, had in theſe firſt diſcoveries on the Coaſt of Africa.

Birth of Prince Henry of Portugal.

We now turn to the hiſtory of the Portugueſe diſcoveries made, or rather cauſed to be made, by Prince Henry of Portugal. This prince was born in 1394. He was the third ſon of John the Firſt of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaſter, ſiſter of Henry the Fourth of England. That good Plantagenet blood on the mother's ſide was not, I ſhould think, without avail to a man whoſe life was to be ſpent in inſatiate attempts to work out a great idea. This prince was with his father at the taking of Ceuta in 1415. He was eſpecially learned for that age of the world, being ſkilled in mathematical and geographical knowledge. And it may be noticed here, that the greateſt geographical diſcoveries have been made by men converſant with the book knowledge of their own time. A work, for inſtance, often ſeen in the hands of Columbus, and which his ſon mentions as having had much influence with him, was the learned treatiſe of Cardinal Petro de Aliaco, (Pierre d'Ailly) the "Imago Mundi."

But to return to Prince Henry of Portugal. We are told that he had converſed much with

thoſe who had made voyages in different parts of the world, and particularly with Moors from Fez and Morocco, ſo that he came to hear of the Azenegues, a people bordering on the country of the negroes of Jalof.

And now, the firſt thing for us to do is the ſame as it was for Prince Henry, in which we may be ſure he was not remiſs; namely, to ſtudy our maps and charts. Without frequent reference to maps, a narrative like the preſent forms in our mind only a mirage of names and dates and facts: is wrongly apprehended even while we are regarding it, and ſoon vaniſhes away. The map of the world being before us, let us reduce it to the proportions it filled in Prince Henry's time: let us look at our infant world. Firſt, take away thoſe two continents, for ſo we may almoſt call them, each much larger than a Europe, to the far Weſt. Then cancel that ſquare maſſive-looking piece to the extreme South-Eaſt; happily there are no penal ſettlements there yet. Then turn to Africa: inſtead of that form of inverted cone which it preſents, and which we now know there are phyſical reaſons for its preſenting; make a ſcimitar ſhape of it by running a ſlightly-curved line from Juba on the Eaſtern ſide to Cape Nam on the Weſtern. Declare all below that line

unknown. Hitherto, we have only been doing the work of deſtruction; but now ſcatter emblems of Hippogriffs and Anthropophagi on the outſkirts of what is left in the map, obeying a maxim not confined to the ancient geographers only—where you know nothing, place terrors. Looking at our completed map, we can hardly help thinking to ourſelves with a ſmile what a, comparatively ſpeaking, minor ſpace the known hiſtory of the world has been tranſacted in up to the laſt four hundred years. The idea of the univerſal Roman dominion ſhrinks a little: and we begin to fancy that Ovid might have eſcaped his tyrant. No time, however, remains to moralize: fixing our eyes on that part which was the ſtarting point for Prince Henry, we are now ready to accompany him.

Our prince having once the idea in his mind, that Africa did not end where it was commonly ſuppoſed, namely, at Cape Nam (Not), but that there was a world beyond that forbidding negative, ſeems not to have reſted until he had made known that quarter of the globe to his own. He fixed his abode upon the promontory of Sagres, at the ſouthern part of Portugal, from whence, for many a year, he could watch for riſing ſpecks of white ſail bringing back his captains to tell him of new

countries and new men. We may wonder that he never went himſelf: but he might have thought that he ſerved the cauſe better by remaining at home and forming a centre from whence, if we may ſo expreſs it, the electric energy of enterprize was communicated to many diſcoverers and collected from them. Moreover, we muſt recollect that he was much engaged in public affairs. In the courſe of his life he was three times in Africa, carrying on war againſt the Moors; and, at home, beſides the care and trouble which the ſtate of the Portugueſe court and government muſt have given him, he was occupied in promoting ſcience and encouraging education.

In 1415, as we ſaid before, he was at Ceuta. In 1418, he is ſettled on his promontory of Sagres. One night in that year he is thought to have had a dream of promiſe, for, on the enſuing morning, he ſuddenly ordered two veſſels to be got ready forthwith; and placed them under the command of Joham Gonçalvez Zarco and Triſtam Vaz, gentlemen of his houſehold, to proceed down the Barbary coaſt on a voyage of diſcovery. 1418. Firſt expedition under Joham Gonçalvez Zarco and Triſtram Vaz.

The contemporary chronicler, Azurara, tells the ſtory more ſimply, and merely gives us to underſtand that theſe young men, after the ending of the Ceuta campaign, were as eager for em-

ployment as the prince for diſcovery; and that they were ordered on a voyage having for its object the general moleſtation of the Moors as well as that of making diſcoveries beyond Cape Nam. The Portugueſe mariners had a proverb about this Cape, "he who would paſs Cape Not, either will return, or not," (*Quem paſſar o Cabo de Nam, ou tornará, ou nam,*) intimating that if he did not turn before paſſing the Cape, he would never return at all. On the preſent occaſion it was not deſtined to be paſſed; for theſe captains, Joham Gonçalvez Zarco and Triſtam Vaz, were driven out of their courſe by ſtorms, and accidentally diſcovered a little iſland, where they took refuge, and from that circumſtance called the iſland Porto Santo. "They "found there," ſays Souſa, "a race of people in "no reſpect arranged politically, but not alto- "gether barbarous and ſavage, and poſſeſſing a "kindly and moſt fertile ſoil."* I mention this deſcription of the firſt land diſcovered by Prince Henry's captains, thinking it would well apply to many other lands about to be found out by his captains and other diſcoverers. Joham Gon-

Porto Santo diſcovered.

* "Hallaron alli gente nada politica, mas no del todo barbara "o ſelvage, y poſſeedora de un benevolo y fertiliſſimo terreno."—*Faria y Souſa Aſia Portugueſa*, Liſbon. 1666. tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

çalvez and Triſtam Vaz return. Their maſter is delighted with the news they bring him, more on account of its promiſe than its ſubſtance. In the ſame year he ſends them out again together with a third captain, Bartholomew Pereſtrelo, and aſſigns a ſhip to each captain. His object is not only to diſcover more iſlands, but to improve his Porto Santo. He ſends, therefore, various ſeeds and animals. This ſeems a man worthy to direct diſcovery. Unfortunately, however, amongſt the animals ſome rabbits are introduced into the new iſland; and they conquer it, not for the prince, but for themſelves. Hereafter, we ſhall find them giving his people much trouble and cauſing ſome reproach to him.

We come now to the year 1419. Pereſtrelo, for ſome cauſe not known, returned to Portugal at that time. After his departure, Joham Gonçalvez and Triſtam Vaz, ſeeing from Porto Santo ſomething that ſeemed like a cloud, but yet different (the origin of ſo much diſcovery, noting the difference in the likeneſs), built two boats, and, making for this cloud, ſoon found themſelves alongſide an iſland beautiful and abundant in many things, but moſt in trees, to be called from thence, Madeira (wood). The two diſcoverers, Joham Gonçalvez Zarco and Triſtam

1419.

Madeira diſcovered.

Vaz enter the iſland at different parts. The prince, their maſter, afterwards rewarded them with the captaincies of thoſe parts. To Pereſtrelo he gave the iſland of Porto Santo, to populate it: ſhowing therein the juſt maſter who rewards, not according to fortune, but to endeavour. Pereſtrelo, however, did not make much of his captaincy, but after a ſtrenuous conteſt with the rabbits, having killed an army of them, died himſelf. This Pereſtrelo is intereſting to us as being the father-in-law of Columbus, who, indeed, lived at Porto Santo for ſome time, and here, on new-found land, meditated far bolder diſcoveries.

Joham Gonçalvez Zarco and Triſtam Vaz begin the cultivation of their iſland of Madeira, but meet with an untoward event at firſt. In clearing the wood, they kindle a fire amongſt it, that burns for ſeven years, we are told, and in the end the wood, which gave the name to the iſland, and which, in the words of the hiſtorian, overſhadowed the whole land, became the moſt deficient commodity. The captains founded churches in the iſland: and the king of Portugal, Don Duarte, gave the temporalities to Prince Henry, and all the ſpiritualities to the knights of Chriſt.

While theſe things were occurring at Madeira and at Porto Santo, Prince Henry had been

profecuting his general ſcheme of diſcovery, ſending out two or three veſſels each year, with orders to go down the coaſt from Cape Nam, and make what diſcoveries they could, but theſe did not amount to much, for the captains never got beyond Cape Bojador, which is ſituated ſeventy leagues to the ſouth of Cape Nam. This Cape Bojador was formidable in itſelf, being terminated by a ridge of rocks with fierce currents running round them: but was much more formidable from the fancies which the mariners had formed of the ſea and land beyond it; for men, though they may ſhrink from an undertaking, yet will not be without their theories about it to juſtify their fears. "It is clear," they ſaid, "that be-
"yond this cape there is no people whatever;
"the land is as bare as Libya, no water, no trees,
"no graſs in it; the ſea ſo ſhallow that at a league
"from the land it is only a fathom deep; the
"currents ſo fierce, that the ſhip which paſſes
"that cape will never return."*

This outſtretcher (for ſuch is the meaning of the word Bojador) was therefore as a bar drawn acroſs the anxious hopes of our great diſcoverer.

We hear that he had now been working at his

* Azurara. Paris, 1841. cap. 8.

The people murmur at Prince Henry's proceedings.

diſcoveries for twelve years with little approbation from many perſons, *(con poca aprovacion de muchos)* the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, Porto Santo and Madeira, ſerving to whet his appetite for further enterprize, but not winning the common voice in favour of proſecuting diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa. The people at home, improving upon the reports of the ſailors, ſaid that

"the land which the Prince ſought after, was merely "ſome ſandy place like the deſerts of Libya; that Princes "had poſſeſſed the empire of the world and yet had not "undertaken ſuch deſigns as his, or ſhown ſuch anxiety "to find new kingdoms: that the men who arrived "in thoſe foreign parts (if they did arrive) turned from "white into black men: that the king Don John, the "Prince's father, had given to ſtrangers lands in his "kingdom, to break them up and cultivate them, a thing "very different from taking the people out of Portugal, "which had need of them, to bring them amongſt ſavages "to be eaten, and to place them upon lands of which "the mother-country had no need; that the Author of "the world had provided theſe iſlands ſolely for the habitation of wild beaſts, of which an additional proof "was, that the very rabbits they themſelves had introduced were now diſpoſſeſſing them of the iſland."*

There is much here of the uſual captiouſneſs to

* Faria y Souſa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

be found in byſtanders' criticiſms upon action, mixed with a great deal of falſe aſſertion and premature knowledge of the ways of Providence. Still it were to be wiſhed that moſt criticiſm upon action was as wiſe. For that part of the common talk which ſpoke of King John's doings, and of the keeping their own population to bring out their own reſources, had a wiſdom in it which the men of future centuries were yet to diſcover throughout the Peninſula.

Prince Henry, as we may ſee by his perſeverance up to this time, was not a man to have his purpoſes diverted by ſuch criticiſm, much of which muſt have been in his eyes worthleſs and inconſequent in the extreme. Nevertheleſs, he had his own miſgivings. It muſt have been a weary time of late years to him. His captains returned one after another with no good tidings of diſcovery, but with petty plunder gained as they returned, from incurſions on the Mooriſh coaſt. The prince concealed from them his chagrin at the fruitleſs nature of their attempts; but probably did not feel it leſs on that account. He began to think, was it for him to hope to diſcover that land which had been hidden from ſo many princes? Still he felt within himſelf the incitement of "a virtuous obſtinacy" which would not let him reſt.

Would it not, he thought, be ingratitude to God who thus moved his mind to theſe attempts, if he were to deſiſt from his work, or be negligent in it?* He reſolved, therefore, to ſend out Gil Eannes, one of his houſehold, who had been ſent out the year before, but had returned, like the reſt, having diſcovered nothing. He had been driven to the Canary Iſlands, and had ſeized upon ſome of the natives there whom he brought back. With this tranſaction the prince had ſhown himſelf diſſatiſfied, and Gil Eannes, now entruſted again with command, reſolved to meet all dangers to carry out the wiſhes of his maſter. Before his departure, the prince called him aſide and ſaid,

"You cannot meet with ſuch peril that the hope of "your reward ſhall not be much greater; and in truth,

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* Porém quando os capitães tornavam, faziam algumas entradas na coſta de Berberia, (como atrás diſſemos,) com que elles refaziam parte da deſpeza, o que o Infante paſſava com ſoffrimento, ſem por iſſo moſtrar aos homens deſcontentamento de ſeu ſerviço, dado que não cumpriſſem o principal a que eram enviados. Porque como era Principe Catholico, e todalas ſuas couſas punha em as mãos de Deos, parecia-lhe que não era merecedor que per elle foſſe deſcuberto, o que tanto tempo havia que eſtava eſcondido aos Principes paſſados de Heſpanha. Com tudo, porque ſentia em ſi hum eſtimulo de virtuoſa perfia, que o não leixava deſcançar em outra couſa, parecia-lhe que era ingratidão a Deos dar-lhe eſtes movimentos, que não deſiſtiſſe da obra, e elle ſer a iſſo negligente.—*Barros*, Liſbon, 1778. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 4.

" I wonder what imagination this is that you have all
" taken up,—in a matter, too, of ſo little certainty; for if
" theſe things which are reported had any authority, how-
" ever little, I would not blame you ſo much. But you
" quote to me the opinions of four mariners, who, as
" they were driven out of their way to Frandes or to ſome
" other ports to which they commonly navigated, had
" not, and could not have uſed, the needle and the chart;
" but do you go, however, and make your voyage with-
" out regard to their opinion, and, by the grace of God,
" you will not bring out of it anything but honour and
" profit." *

We may well imagine that theſe ſtirring words of the prince muſt have confirmed Gil Eannes in his reſolve to wipe out the ſtain of his former miſadventure. And he ſucceeded in doing ſo; for he paſſed the dreaded Cape Bojador,—a great event in the hiſtory of African diſcovery, and one that in that day was conſidered equal to a labour of Hercules. Gil Eannes returned to a grateful and moſt delighted maſter. He tells the prince that he had landed, and that the ſoil appeared to him unworked and fruitful: and, like a prudent man, could not only tell of foreign plants, but had brought ſome home with him in a barrel of the new-found earth, plants much like thoſe which

Cape Bojador paſſed.

* Azurara, cap. 9.

bear in Portugal the roſes of Santa Maria. The prince rejoiced to ſee them and gave thanks to God, "as if they had been the fruit and ſign of "the promiſed land; and beſought our lady, "whoſe name the plants bore, that ſhe would "guide and ſet forth the doings in this diſcovery "to the praiſe and glory of God, and to the "increaſe of his ſacred faith."*

The pious wiſh expreſſed above is the firſt of the kind that we have occaſion to notice in this hiſtorical account; but ſimilar wiſhes ſeem to have been predominant in the minds of the greateſt diſcoverers and promoters of diſcovery in thoſe times. I believe this deſire of theirs to have been thoroughly genuine and deep-ſeated; and, in fact, that the diſcoveries would not have been made at that period but for the impulſe given to them by the moſt pious minds longing to promote, by all means in their power, the ſpread of what to them was the only true and ſaving faith. We ſhall find much to blame in the conduct of the firſt diſcoverers in Africa and America, but we muſt do them the juſtice to acknowledge that the love of gold was not by any means the only motive which urged them, or which could have urged them,

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap 4. Azurara, cap. 9.

to ſuch endeavours as theirs. We ſhould more readily admit the above concluſion, if we kept in our minds the views then univerſally entertained of the merits and efficacy of mere formal communion with the church, and the fatal conſequences of not being within that communion. A man ſo enlightened as Las Caſas ſcorns paſſages brought againſt him in argument from the works of heathen writers, men who are now living in hell, as he ſays: and Columbus, in giving an account of his third voyage to the Catholic ſovereigns, ſays, that in temporal matters he has only a "blanca" for the offertory, and that in ſpiritual matters he is ſo apart from the holy ſacraments of the holy church, that if he were to die where he is, his ſoul would be forgotten *(que ſe olvidará deſta anima ſi ſe aparta acá del cuerpo)*. "Weep for "me," he ſays, "ye that are charitable, true, or "juſt."

And doubtleſs in the minds of the common people, the advantage of this communion with the church ſtood at the higheſt. This will go a long way to explain the wonderful inconſiſtency, as it ſeems to us, of the moſt cruel men appealing to their good works as promoters of the faith. And the maintenance of ſuch church principles will

altogether account for the ſtrange overſights which pure and high minds have made in the means of carrying out thoſe principles, faſcinated as they were by the brilliancy and magnitude of the main object they had in view.

The old world has now got a glimpſe beyond Cape Bojador. The fearful "outſtretcher" has no longer much intereſt for us, is a thing that is overcome and which is to deſcend from an impoſſibility to a land-mark, from whence, by degrees, we ſhall almoſt ſilently ſteal down the coaſt, counting our miles by thouſands, until Vaſco de Gama boldly takes us round to India.

After the paſſing of Cape Bojador there was a lull in Portugueſe Diſcovery: the period from 1434 to 1441 being ſpent in enterprizes of no great diſtinctneſs or moment. Indeed, during the latter part of this period, the Prince was fully occupied with the affairs of Portugal. In 1437 he made the unfortunate expedition to Tangier, in which his brother Ferdinand was taken priſoner and ended his days in ſlavery to the Moor. And in 1438, king Duarte dying, the troubles of the regency occupied Prince Henry's attention. In
1441. 1441, however, there was a voyage which led to very important conſequences. In that year Anto-

nio Gonçalvez, maſter of the robes to Prince Henry, was ſent out with a veſſel to load it with ſkins of "ſea wolves," a number of them having been ſeen, during a former voyage, in the mouth of a river about fifty-four leagues beyond Cape Bojador. Gonçalvez reſolved to ſignalize his voyage by a feat that ſhould gratify his maſter more than the capture of ſea-wolves; and he accordingly planned and executed ſucceſsfully an expedition for capturing ſome Azeneghi Moors, in order, as he told his companions, to take home "ſome of the language of that country." Nuño Triſtam, another of Prince Henry's captains, afterwards falling in with Gonçalvez, a further capture of Moors was made, and Gonçalvez returned to Portugal with his ſpoil.

In this ſame year, Prince Henry applied to Pope Martin the Fifth, praying that his Holineſs would grant to the Portugueſe crown all that it ſhould conquer, from Cape Bojador to the Indies, together with plenary indulgence for thoſe who ſhould die in the attempt. The pope granted this. "And now," ſays a Portugueſe hiſtorian, "with this apoſtolic grace, with the breath of "royal favour, and already with the applauſe of "the people," (no common talk now about white men turning into black, or lands intended by

Grant from the Pope.

1441.

Providence only for wild beaſts,) " the prince " purſued his purpoſe with more courage and " with greater outlay."*

In 1442, the Moors whom Antonio Gonçalvez had taken the previous year, promiſe to give black ſlaves in ranſom for themſelves if he will take them back to their own country; and the prince, approving of this, orders Gonçalvez to ſet ſail immediately, " inſiſting as the foundation of the " matter, that if Gonçalvez ſhould not be able to " obtain ſo many negroes (as had been mentioned) " in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he " ſhould take them; for whatever number he " ſhould get, he would gain ſouls, becauſe they " (the negroes) might be converted to the faith, " which could not be managed with the Moors."† Here again we ſee the religious motives predominating: and, indeed, we may note the ſame motive in numerous paſſages in which this Prince's conduct comes before us.

Gonçalvez obtains ten black ſlaves, ſome gold duſt, a target of buffalo hide, and ſome oſtriches'

* Faria y Souſa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

† Ordenou o Infante de o deſpachar logo em hum navio, fazendo fundamento, que quando Antão Gonçalves não pudeſſe haver tantos negros a troco deſtes tres Mouros, já de quantos quer que foſſem ganhava almas, porque ſe converteriam á Fé, o que elle não podia acabar com os Mouros. *Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7.

eggs, in exchange for two of the Moors, and, returning with his cargo, excites general admiration on account of the colour of the ſlaves.* Theſe, then, we may preſume, are the firſt black ſlaves that made their appearance in the Peninſula ſince the extinction of the old ſlavery.

Firſt black ſlaves in the Peninſula.

I am not ignorant that there are reaſons for alleging that Negroes had before this era been ſeized and carried to Seville. In the eccleſiaſtical annals of Ortiz de Zuñiga under the date 1474, we are told that negro ſlaves abounded in that city, and that the fifths levied on them produced conſiderable gains to the royal revenue; it is alſo mentioned that there had been traffic of this kind in the days of Don Enrique the Third, about 1399, but that it had ſince then fallen into the hands of the Portugueſe. The Chronicler ſtates that the Negroes of Seville were treated very kindly from the time of King Enrique, being allowed to keep their dances and feſtivals; and that one of them was named "mayoral" of the reſt, who protected them againſt their maſters, and before the courts of law, and alſo ſettled their own private quarrels. There is a letter from Ferdinand and Iſabella in

* "Entraron en el Reyno con admiracion comun, cauſada del color de los esclavos."—*Faria y Souſa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

the year 1474, to a celebrated negro, Juan de Valladolid, commonly called the "Negro Count," (el Conde Negro) nominating him to this office of "mayoral of the negroes," which runs thus.

"For the many good, loyal, and ſignal ſervices which you have done us, and do each day, and becauſe we "know your ſufficiency, ability, and good diſpoſition, "we conſtitute you mayoral and judge of all the ne- "groes and mulattoes, free, or ſlaves, which are in the "very loyal and noble city of Seville, and throughout the "whole Archbiſhopric thereof, and that the ſaid ne- "groes and mulattoes may not hold any feſtivals, nor "pleadings amongſt themſelves, except before you Juan "de Valladolid, negro, our judge and mayoral of the "ſaid negroes and mulattoes; and we command that "you, and you only, ſhould take cognizance of the diſ- "putes, pleadings, marriages and other things which "may take place amongſt them, foraſmuch as you are a "perſon ſufficient for that office, and deſerving of "your power, and you know the laws and ordinances "which ought to be kept, and we are informed that you "are of noble lineage amongſt the ſaid negroes." †

But all this merely ſhows that in the year 1474 there were many negroes in Seville, and that laws and ordinances had been made about them. Theſe negroes might all, however, have been imported

† Ortiz de Zuñiga. Madrid, 1677. Annales de Sevilla. p. 374.

into Seville, ſince the Portugueſe diſcoveries. True it is that in the times of Don Enrique the Third and during Béthencourt's occupation of the Canary Iſlands, ſlaves from thence had been brought to France and Spain: but theſe iſlanders were not negroes, and it certainly may be doubted whether any negroes were imported into Seville previous to 1443.

Returning to Portugueſe affairs, the hiſtorian Faria y Souſa tells us, that the gold obtained by Gonçalvez "awakened, as always, covetouſneſs." The next year Nuño Triſtan went further down the African coaſt, and off the iſland of Adeget, one of the Arguim Iſlands, captured 80 natives, and brought them to Portugal. Theſe, however, were not negroes, but Azenegues.

Prince Henry in favour with his countrymen.

The tide of popular opinion was now not merely turned, but in full flow in favour of Prince Henry and his diſcoveries. The diſcoverers are found to come back rich in ſlaves and other commodities; whereas it is remembered that in former wars and undertakings, thoſe who had been engaged came back in great diſtreſs. Strangers, too, came from afar ſcenting the prey. A new mode of life, as the Portugueſe ſaid, had been found out for them; and we are told that "the

" greater part of the kingdom was moved with a " ſudden deſire to follow this way to Guinea."*

1444. Company of adventurers for further diſcovery.

In 1444, a company is formed at Lagos, who receive permiſſion from the prince to go upon theſe diſcoveries, paying him a certain portion of the proceeds. This has been conſidered as a company founded for carrying on the ſlave trade, but I do not think that we have evidence to ſhow that its founders meant this to be its purpoſe. It might rather be compared to an expedition ſent out, as we ſhould ſay in modern times, with letters of marque, in which, however, the prizes chiefly hoped for are not ſhips or merchandize, but men. After getting ſome oſtriches' eggs, the firſt thing the expedition does, is to attack the inhabitants of the iſlands Nar and Tider, and to bring back about two hundred ſlaves.† I grieve to ſay that we do not find our great diſcovering prince putting a check to any of theſe doings, but, on the contrary, he rewards with large honours Lançarote, one of the principal men of this expedition, and receives his own fifth of the

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

† Barros does not ſay of what race theſe ſlaves were, but merely calls them " almas." Faria y Souſa gives them the name of " Moors," a very elaſtic word. I imagine that they were Azenegues.

ſlaves. Yet I have ſcarcely a doubt that the words of the hiſtorian are ſubſtantially true,—that diſcovery, not gain, was ſtill the prince's leading idea.* We have an account from an eye-witneſs of the partition of the ſlaves brought back by Lançarote, which, as it is the firſt tranſaction of the kind on record, is worthy of notice, more eſpecially as it may enable us to underſtand the motives of the prince, and of other men of thoſe times. It is to be found in the Chronicles of Azurara. The good chronicler is torn to the heart at the ſorrow he witneſſes, but ſtill believes it to be for good; and that he muſt not let his mere earthly commiſeration get the better of his piety.

" O thou heavenly Father," he exclaims, " who, with " thy powerful hand, without movement of thy divine ef- " ſence, governeſt all the infinite company of thy holy " city, and who draweſt together all the axles of the upper " worlds, divided into nine ſpheres, moving the times " of their long and ſhort periods as it pleaſes thee! I " implore thee that my tears may not condemn my " conſcience, for not its law, but our common huma-

* Porque huma das couſas, que o Inſante naquelle tempo trazia ante os olhos, e em que o mais podiam comprazer, e ſervir, era em aquelle deſcubrimento, por ſer couſa, que elle plantára, e creára com tanta induſtria, e deſpeza.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

" nity conſtrains my humanity to lament piteouſly the
" ſufferings of theſe people (ſlaves). And if the brute
" animals, with their mere beſtial ſentiments, by a na-
" tural inſtinct, recognize the misfortunes of their like,
" what muſt this my human nature do, ſeeing thus before
" my eyes this wretched company, remembering that
" I myſelf am of the generation of the ſons of Adam!
" The other day, which was the eighth of Auguſt, very
" early in the morning, by reaſon of the heat, the mari-
" ners began to bring-to their veſſels, and, as they had
" been commanded, to draw forth thoſe captives to take
" them out of the veſſel: whom, placed together on that
" plain, it was a marvellous ſight to behold, for amongſt
" them there were ſome of a reaſonable degree of white-
" neſs, handſome and well-made; others leſs white,
" reſembling leopards in their colour; others as black
" as Ethiopians, and ſo ill-formed, as well in their faces
" as their bodies, that it ſeemed to the beholders as if
" they ſaw the forms of a lower hemiſphere. But
" what heart was that, how hard ſoever, which was not
" pierced with ſorrow ſeeing that company: for ſome
" had ſunken cheeks, and their faces bathed in tears,
" looking at each other; others were groaning very do-
" lorouſly, looking at the heights of the heavens, fixing
" their eyes upon them, crying out loudly, as if they
" were aſking ſuccour from the Father of nature; others
" ſtruck their faces with their hands, throwing them-
" ſelves on the earth; others made their lamentations
" in ſongs, according to the cuſtoms of their country,
" which, although we could not underſtand their lan-

" guage, we ſaw correſponded well to the height of
" their ſorrow. But now, for the increaſe of their
" grief, came thoſe who had the charge of the diſtribu-
" tion, and they began to put them apart one from the
" other, in order to equalize the portions; wherefore
" it was neceſſary to part children and parents, huſbands
" and wives, and brethren from each other. Neither
" in the partition of friends and relations was any law
" kept, only each fell where the lot took him. O pow-
" erful fortune! who goeſt hither and thither with thy
" wheels, compaſſing the things of the world as it
" pleaſeth thee, if thou canſt, place before the eyes of
" this miſerable nation ſome knowledge of the things
" that are to come after them (couſas poſtumeiras) that
" they may receive ſome conſolation in the midſt of their
" great ſadneſs! and you others who have the buſineſs
" of this partition, look with pity on ſuch great miſery,
" and conſider how can thoſe be parted whom you
" cannot diſunite! Who will be able to make this
" partition without great difficulty? for while they
" were placing in one part the children that ſaw their
" parents in another, they ſprang up perſeveringly and
" fled to them; the mothers encloſed their children in
" their arms and threw themſelves with them on the
" ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own
" fleſh ſo that their children might not be torn from
" them! And ſo, with labour and difficulty, they con-
" cluded the partition, for, beſides the trouble they
" had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as
" well of the place as of the villages and neighbourhood

" around, who in that day gave reſt to their hands, the " mainſtay of their livelihood, only to ſee this novelty. " And as they looked upon theſe things, ſome deploring, " ſome reaſoning upon them, they made ſuch a riotous " noiſe, as greatly to diſturb thoſe who had the manage- " ment of this diſtribution. The Infante was there " upon a powerful horſe, accompanied by his people, " looking out his ſhare, but as a man who for his " part did not care for gain, for, of the forty-ſix ſouls " which fell to his fifth, he ſpeedily made his choice, as " all his principal riches were in his contentment, con- " ſidering with great delight the ſalvation of thoſe ſouls " which before were loſt. And certainly his thought " was not vain, for as ſoon as they had knowledge of " our language, they readily became Chriſtians; and " I, who have made this hiſtory in this volume, have " ſeen in the town of Lagos young men and young " women, the ſons and grandſons of thoſe very captives, " born in this land, as good and as true Chriſtians as if " they had lineally deſcended, ſince the commencement " of the law of Chriſt, from thoſe who were firſt bap- " tized."

The good Azurara wiſhes that theſe captives might have ſome foreſight of the things to happen after their death: I do not think it would have proved much conſolation to them to have foreſeen that they were almoſt the firſt of many millions to be dealt with as they had been. For, in this
1444. year, 1444, Europe may be ſaid to have made a

diſtinct beginning in the ſlave trade, henceforth to ſpread on all ſides, like the waves upon ſtirred water, and not, like them, to become fainter and fainter as the circles widen. Beginning of the ſlave trade.

In 1445, an expedition was fitted out by the prince, and the command given to Gonſalvo de Cintra, who was unſucceſsful in an attack on the natives near Cape Blanco. He and ſome other of the principal men of the expedition loſt their lives. Theſe were the firſt Portugueſe who died in battle on that coaſt. In the ſame year, the prince ſent out three other veſſels. The captains received orders from the Infante, Don Pedro, who was then regent of Portugal, to enter the river d'Oro, and make all endeavours to convert the natives to the faith, and even, if they ſhould not receive baptiſm, to make peace and alliance with them. This did not ſucceed. Very likely the captains found negociation of this kind exceedingly tame and apparently profitleſs in compariſon with the pleaſant forays made by their predeceſſors. The attempt, however, ſhows much intelligence and humanity on the part of thoſe in power in Portugal. That the inſtructions were ſincere is proved by the fact of this expedition returning with only one negro, gained in ranſom, and a Moor who came of his own accord to ſee the Chriſtian country.

This ſame year 1445, is ſignalized by a great event in the progreſs of diſcovery along the African coaſt. Dinis Dyaz, called by Barros and the hiſtorians who followed him, Dinis Fernandez, ſeeks employment from the Infante, and being entruſted by him with the command of a veſſel, puſhes boldly down the coaſt, and paſſes the river Sanaga (Senegal) which divides the Azenegues (whom the firſt diſcoverers always called Moors) from the negroes of Jalof. The inhabitants were much aſtoniſhed at the preſence of the Portugueſe veſſel on their coaſts, and at firſt took it for a fiſh, or a bird, or a phantaſm; but when in their rude boats (hollowed logs) they neared it and ſaw that there were men in it, judiciouſly concluding that it was a more dangerous thing than fiſh, or bird, or phantaſm, they fled. Dinis Fernandez, however, captured four of them off that coaſt, but as his object was not ſlave hunting but diſcovery,* he went on till he diſcovered Cape Verde and then returned to his country, to be received with much honour and favour by Prince Henry. Theſe four negroes taken by Dinis Fernandez, were the firſt taken in their own country by the Portu-

Dinis Fernandez diſcovers Cape Verde.

* Como ſeu propoſito mais era deſcubrir terra por ſervir o Infante, que trazer cativos pera ſeu proprio proveito.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

gueſe.* That the prince is ſtill engaged in high thoughts of diſcovery and converſion, we may conclude from obſerving that he rewarded and honoured Dinis Fernandez as much as if he had brought him large booty. Barros ſays, "he," (the prince) "thought little of whatever he could "do for thoſe who came to him with theſe ſigns "and tokens of another greater hope which he "had."†

First negroes taken in their own country by the Portugueſe.

In this caſe, too, as in others, we ſhould do the prince great injuſtice if we ſuppoſed that he had any ſlave-dealer's pleaſure in getting theſe negroes; as it is far more probable that he valued them as perſons capable of furniſhing intelligence, and, perhaps, of becoming interpreters, for his future expeditions. Not that, without theſe eſpecial motives, he would have thought it anything but great gain for a man to be made a ſlave, if it were the means of bringing him into communion with the Church.

After this, ſeveral expeditions, which did not

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* Os quaaes forom os primeiros que em ſua propria terra forom filhados per Xpaãos, nem ha hi cronica nem eſtorya em que ſe conte o contrairo.—*Azurara*, cap. 31.

† Que ſempre lhe parecia pouco o que fazia aquelles, que lhe vinham com eſtas moſtras, e ſinaes d'outra maior eſperança que elle tinha.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

lead to much, occupied the Prince's time till 1447. In that year, a fleet, large for thoſe times, of fourteen veſſels, was fitted out at Lagos by the people there, and the command given by Prince Henry to Lançarote. The object ſeems to have been, from a ſpeech that we have of Lançarote's, to make war upon the Azeneghi Moors, and eſpecially to take revenge for the defeat which Gonſalvo de Cintra ſuffered in 1445, near Cape Blanco. That purpoſe effected, the ſhips parted company. Lançarote went ſouthwards, extending the diſcovery of the coaſt to the river Gambia. In the courſe of his proceedings on that coaſt, we find again that Prince Henry's inſtructions inſiſted much upon the maintenance of peace with the natives.* Another inſtance of the ſame diſpoſition on his part deſerves to be eſpecially recorded. The expedition had been received in a friendly manner at Gomera, one of the Canary Iſlands. Notwithſtanding this kind reception, Juan de Caſtilla took ſome of the natives priſoners. On

1447. Expedition under Lançarote.

* Gomes Pires, a quem o Capitão Lançarote mandou em hum batel, que foſſe a elles, parecendo-lhe que os provocava mais a paz, que lhe o Infante muito encommendava em ſeu Regimento, lançou-lhes em terra hum bollo, hum eſpelho, e huma folha de papel, em que hia debuxada huma cruz.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 13.

their coming to Portugal, Prince Henry had them clothed and placed at liberty in the place where they were taken from.*

This expedition under Lançarote had no great reſult. They went a little further down the coaſt than they had ever been before, but they did not make friends with the natives, who had already been treated in a hoſtile manner by ſome Portugueſe from Madeira. Neither did the expedition make great ſpoil, but only indulged in ſmall ſkirmiſhes and took no large number of priſoners. They had got into feuds with the natives, and were preparing to attack them, when a ſtorm diſſipated their fleet and made them return home.

It appears, I think, from the general courſe of proceedings of the Portugueſe in thoſe times, that they conſidered there was always war between them and the Azeneghi Moors, that is in the territory from Ceuta as far as the Senegal River ; but that they had no declared hoſtility againſt the negroes of Jalof or beyond, though ſkirmiſhes of courſe would be ſure to happen from ill underſtood attempts of friendſhip on the one ſide, and juſt or needleſs fears on the other.

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* Infidelidad que el Infante caſtigò con mandarlos veſtir, y ponerlos libres, y luzidos en ſu naturaleza.—*Faria y Souſa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

The laſt public enterprize of which Prince Henry had the direction, was worthy to cloſe his adminiſtration of the affairs relating to Portugueſe diſcovery. He cauſed two Ambaſſadors to be diſpatched to the King of the Cape Verde territory, to treat of peace, and to introduce the Chriſtian Faith. One of the Ambaſſadors, a Daniſh gentleman, was treacherouſly killed by the natives, and upon that the other returned, having accompliſhed nothing.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of the Cape Verde territory.

1446. Don Alfonſo the Fifth, the nephew of Prince Henry, now took the reins of government, and the future expeditions along the coaſt of Africa proceeded in his name. Still it does not appear that Prince Henry ceaſed to have power and influence in the management of African affairs; and we read that the firſt thing that the king did in them was, to enact that no one ſhould paſs Cape Bojador without a licenſe from Prince Henry. Some time between 1448 and 1454 a fortreſs was built in one of the iſlands of Arguim, which iſlands had already become a place of bargain for gold and negro ſlaves.* And this was the firſt Portugueſe

* "Porque a las Iſlas de Arguim concurria reſcate de oro, y "negros, mandò el Rey levantar a una dellas el Caſtillo de a-"quel nombre, (y fue el primero que ſe levantò en nueſtras conquiſtas.")—*Faria y Souſa*, tom. 1, part. 1, cap. 2.

eſtabliſhment on the coaſt of Africa. It ſeems according to Barros, that a ſyſtem of trade was now eſtabliſhed between the Portugueſe and the negroes.†

First Portugueſe eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of Africa.

Having come to an important point in the courſe of Portugueſe diſcovery we may now make a pauſe, not without ſome ſatisfaction at having got through the moſt tedious, though not the moſt unintereſting, part of the narrative—a part chiefly marked by names, dates, and bare events, which ſtand in the undiverſified ſtory, like ſolitary poſt-houſes in the "Steppes" of Ruſſia or the "Landes" in France. If the reader has found the narrative very dull, I am ſorry for it, but am ſure that he would not wiſh to have had the ſtory made ſeemingly more intereſting by the omiſſion of dull or apparently inconſequent facts, or by that rounding off, or falſe interweaving, which often gives a completeneſs to narrative at the entire ſacrifice of truth. I believe in our every day narratives, in the account we have to give of the

† A eſte tempo o negocio de Guiné andava já mui corrente entre os noſſos, e os moradores daquellas partes, e huns com os outros ſe communicavam em as couſas do commercio com paz, e amor, ſem aquellas entradas, e ſaltos de roubos de guerra, que no princípio houve.—*Barros*. dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2. See alſo Azurara, cap. 95.

tranſactions of common life, we are as much diverted from truth by the love of making a neat and fluent narrative as by almoſt any other temptation.

Admitting, however, to the full any tediouſneſs that there may be in this account of early Portugueſe diſcovery, we ought not, I think, to conſider it unintereſting. The beginnings of great things—even if obſcure, trivial, iſolated; without the details which bring reality into preſence; and round which the hopes and the fortunes of men have not yet gathered—ſtill cannot be devoid of intereſt to any thoughtful, forecaſting mind. The traveller willingly diſmounts to ſee the ſtreamlet which is the origin of a great river: and the man of imagination, (who is patient in reſearch becauſe he is imaginative) as, in ſcience, he laborioufly follows with delight the tracks now hardened in the ſandſtone of obſcure birds which paddled over thoſe buried plains ages ago; ſo, in hiſtory, he will often find material to meditate upon, and to obſerve, in ſlight notices which, however, like the others, indicate much to him of bygone times and wondrous changes.

CHAPTER II.

CA DA MOSTO'S VOYAGE—PRINCE HENRY'S DEATH —HIS CHARACTER—FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL.

AT the close of the preceding chapter it was intimated that the narrative of these Portuguese Voyages is rather uninviting. Could we recall, however, the voyagers themselves, and listen to their story, we should find it animating enough. Each enterprize, as we have it now, with its few dry facts, seems a meagre affair; but it was far otherwise to the men who were concerned in it. We have seen that piety had a large part in these undertakings: doubtless the love of adventure and the craving for novelty had their parts too.* And what adventure it was! new trees, new men, new animals, new stars, to be seen: nothing bounded, nothing trite; nothing which had the bloom taken off it by much previous description! These

* See Humboldt's Kosmos. Sabine's translation, London, 1848. vol. 2, p. 274.

early voyagers, moreover, were like children coming out to take their firſt gaze into the world, with ready credulity and unlimited fancy, willing to believe in fairies and demons, Amazons and "forms of a lower hemiſphere," myſtic Iſlands and fountains of perpetual youth.

Then, too, beſides the hopes and fears of each individual of the crew, the conjoint enterprize had in it a life and a career to be made out. It ſtarted to do ſomething; fulfilled its purpoſe, or at leaſt ſome purpoſe; and then came back radiant with ſucceſs—thenceforth to be a great hiſtorical fact. Or, on the other hand, there was perhaps ſome ſmall failure or miſchance early in the voyage: the ſailors then began to reckon up ill omens and ſay, that little good will come of this buſineſs: further on, ſome ſerious miſadventure happened which made them turn, or from the mere lapſe of time, they were obliged to bethink themſelves of getting back; ſafety, not renown or profit, now became their object, and their hope was at beſt but the negative of ſome fear. Thereupon enſued a good deal of recrimination amongſt themſelves; for very few people are magnanimous enough to ſhare ill-ſucceſs kindly together. Then, in the long dull evenings of their voyage homewards, as they ſat looking on the waters, they thought what excuſes and explanations they would

make to their friends at home, and how ſhame and vexation would mingle with their joy at returning.

This thing, teeming as it was with anxious life, makes but a poor ſhow in ſome chronicle—they ſailed; and did ſomething, or did not; and then came back; and this was in ſuch a year—like the entry in an almanack or the brief tale on a tombſtone.

We are now, however, entering upon a time when we are fortunate enough to meet with a voyager who can tell us more of the details of things than we have hitherto heard, and who is, himſelf, his own chronicler.

In 1454, Ca da Moſto, a young Venetian, 1454. who had already had ſome experience in voyaging, happened to be on board a Venetian galley that was detained by contrary winds at Cape St. Vincent. Prince Henry was then living cloſe to the Cape. He ſent his ſecretary and the Venetian conſul on board the veſſel where Ca da Moſto was. They told of the great things the Prince had done, ſhowed ſamples of the commodities that came from the lands diſcovered by him, (Madeira ſugars, Dragon's blood, and other articles,) and ſpoke of the gains made by Portugueſe voyagers, being 700 or 1000 per cent. Ca da Moſto aſks permiſſion to go, is informed

of the terms, and hears that a Venetian would be well received by the Prince "becauſe he was of "opinion, that ſpices, and other rich merchan- "dize, might be found in theſe parts; and knew, "that the Venetians underſtood theſe Commodi- "ties better than any other Nation.*

Ca da Moſto's voyage.

In fine, Ca da Moſto ſees the Prince, is evidently much impreſſed by him; and being furniſhed with a caravel, embarks his merchandize in it, and ſets off on a voyage of diſcovery. We have now for the firſt time an intelligent man on board one of theſe veſſels giving us his own account of the voyage.

Management of ſlave-trade in 1454.

From Ca da Moſto we at once learn the ſtate of things with regard to the ſlave trade. The Portugueſe factory at Arguim is the head quarters of the trade. Thither come all kinds of merchandize, and gold and ſlaves are taken back in return. The "Arabs" of that diſtrict (Moors, the Portugueſe would call them,) are the middle men in this affair. They take their Barbary horſes to the negro country, and "there barter with the great men for ſlaves," getting from ten to eighteen for each horſe. They alſo bring ſilks of Granada and Tunis, and ſilver, for which they

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 574.

get ſlaves and gold. Theſe Arabs, or Moors, have a place of trade of their own, called Hoden, behind Cape Blanco. There the ſlaves are brought,

" from whence they are ſent to the mountains of Bar-
" ka, and from thence to Sicily; part of them are alſo
" brought to Tunis, and along the coaſt of Barbary, and
" the reſt to Argin, and ſold to the licenſed Portugueſe.
" Every year between ſeven and eight hundred ſlaves
" are ſent from Argin to Portugal." *

" Before this trade was ſettled," ſays Ca da Moſto, the Portugueſe uſed to ſeize upon the Moors themſelves, (as we have occaſionally ſeen in this ſhort account,) and uſed alſo to ſeize the Azenegues who live further towards the South; but now he ſays peace is reſtored to all,

" and the Infante ſuffers no farther damage to be done
" to theſe people. He is in hopes, that by converſing
" with Chriſtians, they may eaſily be brought over to
" the Romiſh faith, as they are not, as yet, well eſtab-
" liſhed in that of Mohammed; of which they know
" nothing but by hear-ſay." †

No doubt the prince's good intentions were greatly furthered by the convenience of this mode of trading. In ſhort, gain has made for itſelf its

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 577.
† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 578.

uſual convenient channels to work in, and ſaves itſelf as much as it can the trouble of diſcovery or marauding.

Ca da Moſto being, as I ſaid before, the firſt modern European viſiting Africa who gives, himſelf, an account of it, and being moreover apparently an honeſt and intelligent man, all that he ſays is moſt valuable. He notices the difference of the people and the country on the oppoſite ſides of the Senegal river: on the northern ſide he finds the men ſmall, ſpare and tawny; the country arid and barren: on the ſouthern ſide, the men "exceeding "black, tall, corpulent and well made; the coun- "try green and full of green trees." This latter is the Jalof country, the ſame that Prince Henry firſt heard of long ago in his intercourſe with the Moors. Ca da Moſto gives a minute deſcription of the people which is well worth noting.

"It is very hot here, not being ſo cold in January, "as it is in Italy in the month of April, and the farther "one travels, the more the heat increaſes. Both men "and women waſh themſelves four or five times a day, "being very cleanly as to their perſons, but not ſo in "eating, in which they obſerve no rule. Although "very ignorant and awkward in going about any thing "which they have not been accuſtomed to, yet in their "own buſineſs which they are acquainted with, they are

" as expert as any Europeans can be. They are full " of words, and never have done talking; and are, " for the moſt part, liars and cheats. Yet, on the other " hand, they are very charitable; for they give a dinner, " or a night's lodging, and a ſupper to all ſtrangers who " come to their houſes, without expecting any return.

" Theſe negro lords often make war among themſelves, and with their neighbours. They have no " cavalry for want of horſes: they wear no arms ſave " a large target for their defence, made of the ſkin of a " beaſt, called Danta, which is very difficult to be " pierced; and Azagays, or light darts, in throwing of " which they are very dexterous. Theſe darts are " pointed with iron, the length of a ſpan, barbed in " different manners; ſo that they make dangerous " wounds in the body wherever they enter, tearing the " fleſh grievouſly when pulled out. They alſo have a " Mooriſh weapon, which is like a Turkiſh half-ſword; " that is, bent like a bow, and made of iron (without " any ſteel) brought from the kingdom of Gambia by " the negroes, who thereof make their arms; and if " they have any iron in their own country, they know " nothing of it, or want induſtry to work it. They uſe " alſo another weapon, like our javelin; beſides which, " they have no other arms.

" As they have but few arms, their wars are very " bloody, for their ſtrokes do not fall in vain. They " are extremely bold and fierce, chooſing rather to be " killed, than to ſave their lives by flight. They are not " afraid to die, nor ſcared, as other people are, when

" they ſee a companion ſlain. They have no ſhips, " neither did they ever ſee any before the Portugueſe " came upon their coaſt. Thoſe inhabiting near the " river, and ſome who live by the ſea, have Zappolies, " or Almadias, made out of a ſingle piece of wood, the " largeſt whereof carries three or four men. In theſe " they fiſh ſometimes, and go up and down the river. " Theſe negroes are the greateſt ſwimmers in the " world, by the experiments the Author has ſeen of " them in theſe parts."*

Ca da Moſto left the country of the Jalofs and proceeded eight hundred miles further, as he ſays, but he muſt I think have over-eſtimated his reckoning, to the country of King Budomel. Budomel receives our voyager courteouſly, and makes purchaſes of him, which are paid for in ſlaves. Ca da Moſto gives us an account of the religion in Budomel's country, which deſerves notice:

Budomel's religion.

" Budomel behaved with great complaiſance to Ca da " Moſto, and carried him into the moſque; for, towards " evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he " always has about him, to ſay prayers. His manner " was thus:—Being entered into the moſque, (which " was in one of the courts) with ſome of the principal " negroes, he firſt ſtood with his eyes lifted up, then

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 582.

" he advanced two ſteps, and ſpoke a few words ſoftly;
" after which, he ſtretched himſelf on the ground and
" kiſſed it. The Azanaghi, and all the reſt, did the
" ſame. Then riſing, he repeated the ſame acts over
" again, ten or twelve times, which took up half an
" hour. When he had done, he aſked the author's opi-
" nion of their manner of worſhip; and to give him ſome
" account of his own religion. Hereupon Ca da Moſto
" told him, in preſence of his doctors, that the religion
" of Mohammed was falſe; and the Romiſh, the true
" one. This made the Arabs mad, and Budomel laugh;
" who, on this occaſion, ſaid, that he looked upon the
" religion of the Europeans to be good: for that none
" but God could have given them ſo much riches and
" underſtanding. He added, however, that the Mo-
" hammedan Law muſt be alſo good; and that he be-
" lieved the negroes were more ſure of ſalvation than
" the Chriſtians, becauſe God was a juſt Lord; and
" therefore, as he had given the latter Paradiſe in this
" world, it ought to be poſſeſſed in the world to come
" by the negroes, who had ſcarce anything here, in
" compariſon of the others. In all his diſcourſe he
" ſhowed a good underſtanding, and took great pleaſure
" in hearing the cuſtoms of the Chriſtians. Ca da Moſto
" believed he might eaſily have been converted, were it
" not for fear of loſing his eſtate; for his nephew, in
" whoſe houſe he lodged, often told him ſo; and took
" great delight himſelf in hearing the author talk of his
" religion." *

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 584.

Perhaps there is hardly any thing which tells more of the ſtate of a people than their markets. We will, accordingly, hear Ca da Moſto's account of them.

" As the author was ſeveral days on ſhore, he went " three or four times to ſee one of their markets or " fairs, which was kept on Mondays and Fridays in a " meadow, not far from the place where he was lodged. " Hither repaired, with their wares, both men and " women, for four or five miles about; and thoſe who " lived at a greater diſtance, went to other markets " nearer them. The great poverty of this people ap- " peared in the goods found in theſe fairs; which were, " a few pieces of cotton-cloth, cotton-yarn, pulſe, oil, " millet, wooden tubs, palm-mats, and every thing " elſe for the uſe of life. Here alſo one meets with " arms, and ſmall quantities of gold. As they have " no money or coin of any kind, all trade is carried on " by way of barter; exchanging one thing for another, " according to the different values. Theſe blacks, both " men and women, came to gaze on Ca da Moſto, as if " he had been a prodigy; and thought it a great curioſity " to behold a white man, for they had never ſeen any " before. They were as much aſtoniſhed at his dreſs as " his colour; being clothed after the Spaniſh faſhion, " with a black damaſk waiſtcoat, and a cloak over it. " They admired the woollen cloth of which they have " none; and ſeemed much ſurpriſed at the ſight of the " waiſtcoat. Some catching him by the arms and

" hands, which they rubbed with ſpittle, to ſee if the " whiteneſs was natural or artificial; and finding that " his ſkin was not painted, their wonder continued. " The end of his going to theſe markets was chiefly, to " ſee what quantity of gold was brought thither."*

Ca da Moſto leaves Budomel's country, and ſailing ſouthwards, comes to the river Gambra (now called Gambia) which the voyagers enter, but cannot conciliate the inhabitants. A conteſt enſues, which deſerves to be recorded as an inſtance of ſignal valour, almoſt unparalleled valour, conſidering that the arms uſed by the Europeans were totally unknown to their opponents.

" The Almadias came under the prow of Cada " Moſto's ſhip, which was foremoſt; and, dividing " themſelves into two diviſions, took him in their " centre. This gave him an opportunity to tell their " number, which was fifteen and as large as barks. " They ceaſed to row, raiſed their oars, and looked " upon the caravel with wonder. There were between " an hundred and thirty and an hundred and fifty ne- " groes, all well made, of a good ſize and very black. " They wore white cotton ſhirts on their bodies, and " white caps on their heads, like the Germans, but " with a wing on each ſide, and a feather in the middle, " by which they diſtinguiſhed themſelves to be ſoldiers

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 587.

" of war. At the prow of each Almadia, there ſtood " a negro with a round target, which ſeemed to be of " leather, on his arm; yet they neither attacked the " caravel, nor ſhe them.

" Thus they continued peaceably till they ſaw the " other two ſhips bear down on them. Then they " prepared, dropped their oars, and without any further " ceremony ſhot their arrows at them. The ſhips, ſee- " ing the attack made upon them, diſcharged four pieces " of cannon at the enemy: the report whereof ſo ſtupi- " fied them, that they threw down their bows; and, " looking ſome time one way, and ſome time another, " remained ſurpriſed to ſee the ſtones, ſhot by the cannon, " fall in the water near them. They continued in this " ſuſpenſe for a conſiderable while: but, ſeeing the " cannon fired no more at them, plucked up courage, " and, laying hold of their bows, renewed the fight with " great fury, approaching within a ſtone's throw of the " ſhips. Hereupon the ſailors began to diſcharge their " croſſ-bows at them. The firſt ſhot was made by the " baſtard ſon of the Genoeſe gentleman, which, hitting " a negro in the breaſt, he immediately dropped down " dead. Thoſe in the Almadia took up the dart and " gazed at it with wonder, but did not give over the " attack, which they carried on vigorouſly, and were " as courageouſly oppoſed by the caravels; inſomuch, " that in a little time many of them were killed, without " the loſs of one European. The Negroes obſerving " the diſadvantage they laboured under, all the Al- " madias agreed to attack the little caravel in ſtern,

Valour of the Negroes.

" which was both ill-manned and ill-armed. They " executed this deſign with great fury: which Ca da " Moſto obſerving, he moved forward to her aſſiſtance; " and getting her between the two large caravels, they " all diſcharged their cannon and croſſ-bows at the Al- " madias which made them retire. After this, they " linked the three caravels together, and dropped an " anchor that held them all, as it was calm."*

During their ſtay in the river Gambia, Ca da Moſto and his companions ſaw the conſtellation of the Southern Croſs for the firſt time. Finding that the people would have nothing to do with them, for they believed that the Chriſtians were very bad people, and bought Negroes to eat them, Ca da Moſto and the commanders wiſhed to proceed a hundred miles further up the river; but the common ſailors would not hear of it, and the expedition forthwith returned to Portugal.

In 1456, Ca da Moſto made another voyage, in the courſe of which he diſcovered the Cape de Verde Iſlands. Leaving them, he went again to the Gambia river, which he appears to have aſcended much further than during his previous expedition, and to have conciliated the natives. The voyagers enter the " Lord Battimanſa's"

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 590.

territory, and ſeek to make a treaty with him. It is curious to ſee the nature of the commodities dealt in.

Battimanſa's Country.

" As ſoon as the meſſengers had declared their commiſſion, Battimanſa immediately ordered certain negroes to the caravel; with whom they not only entered into a treaty of friendſhip, but alſo bartered ſeveral things for negro-ſlaves, and ſome gold: though nothing in compariſon from what they expected from the account given by thoſe of Senega; who, as they are very poor, look upon that as a large quantity, which our adventurers conſidered but very trifling. They value their gold as a very precious thing, and at a greater rate than the Portugueſe did; yet, for all that, the latter had it very reaſonably, ſince they gave them for it things of very little value. They continued here eleven days; during which time the caravels were reſorted to by numbers of negroes, from each ſide of the river, who came to ſee novelties, and ſell their goods; among which were a few gold rings.

" They traded with cotton and cotton-yarn. Some pieces were all white; others ſtriped with blue and white; and a third ſort, with red, blue and white ſtripes, very well wrought. They likewiſe brought civet, and civet-cat-ſkins, monkeys, large and ſmall baboons of various ſorts: which, being very plenty, they ſold them cheap, that is, for ſomething not exceeding ten marquets a head; and the ounce of

" civet, for what was not worth more than forty or " fifty: not that they ſold the things by weight; but " the author judged it to be about that quantity."*

Leaving the river Gambia, Ca da Moſto and his company went down the coaſt, diſcovered Cape Roxo, and, afterwards ſailed up the river Grande; but for want of any knowledge of the language of the people, were forced to return to Portugal.

Sometime between 1460 and 1464, an expedition went out under Piedro de Cintra, one of the king of Portugal's gentlemen, to make further diſcoveries along the African coaſt. Theſe voyagers, whoſe ſtory is briefly told by Ca da Moſto, diſcovered Sierra Leone (ſo called on account of the roaring thunder heard there) and went a little beyond Cape Meſurado. The hiſtorian Barros ſays that the African coaſt from Cape Bojador to Sierra Leone, was diſcovered in Prince Henry's time, in which caſe it ſeems probable that this voyage of Piedro de Cintra's was before the prince's death, but Ca da Moſto, (and I incline to truſt him) makes it afterwards. However that may be, we may fairly conſider

Prince Henry's death.

* Aſtley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 594.

Sierra Leone as being near the point of diſcovery attained at, or about, the death of Prince Henry, of whom, before parting with him, we muſt ſay ſomething.

Prince Henry's character.

" He had a grandeur of nature," ſays Faria y Souſa, " proportionate to the greatneſs of his doings; he was " bulky and ſtrong; his complexion red and white; his " hair coarſe, and almoſt hirſute; his aſpect produced " fear in thoſe who were not accuſtomed to him; not to " thoſe who were, for even in the ſtrongeſt current of his " vexation at any thing, his courteſy always prevailed over " his anger; he had a grave ſerenity in his movements, " a notable conſtancy and circumſpection in his words, " modeſty in all that related to his ſtate and perſonal " obſervance, within the limits of his high fortune; he " was patient in labour, bold and valorous in war, verſed " in arts and letters; a ſkilful fencer; in the mathema- " tics ſuperior to all men of his time: generous in the " extreme: zealous in the extreme for the increaſe of " the faith. No bad habit was known in him. He did " not marry, nor was it known that he ever violated the " purity of continency. His memory was equal to the " authority he bore, and his prudence equal to his " memory. He died at Sagres in the year one thouſand " four hundred and ſixty three, in the ſixty ſeventh year " of his age, and lies with his father in the moſt illuſ- " trious church of Batalla."*

* Faria y Souſa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

The above is of the claſs of characters, ſomewhat unqualified and general, which we are accuſtomed to from hiſtorians; but, I believe, it is one of the trueſt of its kind: it lacks, however, thoſe ſlight touches and variations in which ſo much of individual reſemblance conſiſts. We may map down the main qualities of a man, one by one; but this alone will hardly ſuffice to convey to us ſuch a complex, perverſe, varying, dubious thing as any one human character. Fortunately, in this caſe, we are enabled from the chronicler Azurara, who evidently knew the prince well, and ſpeaks with perfect honeſty about him, to ſupply two or three of thoſe little niceties of deſcription which give life and reality to the picture. Azurara ſays, that the Prince was a man "of great "counſel and authority, wiſe, and of good me-"mory, but in ſome things ſlow, whether it was "through the prevalence of the phlegmatic tem-"perament in his conſtitution, or from intentional "deliberation, being moved to ſome end which "men did not perceive."*

His portrait confirms the latter hypotheſis, giving the idea of a man of great deliberation, but no laxity of purpoſe: and we may notice

* Azurara, cap. 4.

how this would agree with the ſtory of his apparently ſudden reſolve in ſending out his firſt expedition, a thing with him probably long thought of, little talked of, and rapidly put in execution. Again, in another place, the Chronicler hints at a defect in the prince, where he ſays, "There was "no hatred known in him, nor ill will againſt "any perſon, however great the injury he had "received from him; and ſuch was his benignity "in this reſpect, that judicious men remarked "againſt him, that he was wanting in diſtri-"butive juſtice, (*juſticia diſtributiva*) for, in all "other reſpects, he conducted himſelf juſtly." There are inſtances in his hiſtory which bear out this, and one eſpecially, in which he is ſtated to have overlooked the deſertion of his banner, on an occaſion of great peril to himſelf, and afterwards to have unjuſtly favoured the perſons who had thus been found wanting in courage. I ſuppoſe we muſt confeſs this to have been an error on his part, but at leaſt it is an heroic one, Cæſar-like, and adds, perhaps, to our liking for him, what little it may take away from our confidence in the preciſion of his juſtice.

We learn from the ſame ſource that his houſe was the reſort of all the good men of the kingdom, and of foreigners, and that he was a man

of intenſe labour and ſtudy. "Often the ſun "found him in that ſame place where it had "left him the day before, he having watched "throughout the whole arc of the night without "any reſt."*

Altogether, whether we conſider this Prince's motives, his objects, his deeds, or his mode of life, we find him not merely one of the moſt notable men of his own country and period, but of all modern times and nations, and one upon whoſe ſhoulders might worthily reſt the arduous beginnings of continuous maritime diſcovery. Would that ſuch men remained to govern the lands they have the courageous foreſight to diſcover. Then indeed they might take to themſelves the motto "talant de bien faire" which this, their great leader, cauſed to be inſcribed by his captains in many a land, which as yet at leaſt has not found much good from its introduction, under his auſpices, to the civilization of an older world.

King Alfonſo farms out the Coaſt of Africa to Fernando Gomez.

In 1469, and perhaps in conſequence of Prince Henry's ſuperintendence of African diſcovery being miſſed, King Alfonſo adopted a new ſyſtem, and farmed out the commerce with the coaſt of

* Azurara, cap. 6.

Africa to Fernando Gomez for five years at one thouſand ducats a year, upon certain conditions, one of which was that he ſhould advance the diſcovery along the coaſt, beginning from Sierra Leone, three hundred miles in the courſe of each of the five years.* Fernando Gomez, by his captains Juan de Santarem and Pedro de Eſcobar, diſcovered the Gold Coaſt, which they called Oro de la Mina, and gained great riches which he expended in aid of the King's expeditions againſt the Moors. He was in conſequence ennobled, and received the name of El Mina. Fernando Po diſcovered the iſland of Formoſa, now called by the name of the diſcoverer. The laſt diſcovery in the life of King Alfonſo was that of Cape Catharina.

1481. Don Juan the Second ſucceeded to his father Don Alfonſo. This king was very earneſt in African diſcovery. He reſolved that a fort ſhould be built at La Mina; and for this purpoſe ſent an expedition under Diego de Azambuja with ſix hundred men, (five hundred ſoldiers and one hundred artizans), and the fort already made in ſeparate pieces, as we now ſend out palaces for native chiefs, or lighthouſes, to diſtant parts.

Fort built at La Mina.

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2.

The account of the proceedings of this expedition is intereſting. On the arrival of the ſhips at La Mina, Azambuja jumps on ſhore to take poſſeſſion, fixes the Portugueſe flag upon a tree, raiſes an altar at the foot of the tree, and cauſes maſs to be ſaid, the firſt ever ſaid in thoſe parts. The Portugueſe commander then prepares to receive the negro king with due pomp. The king arrives, ſurrounded by a large company of his ſubjects well armed. Their helmets, however, made of ſkins were ſuch as to provoke "more mirth than terror." Their king's arms and legs were covered with ornaments of gold. On his neck was a chain with bells ſuſpended to it, like that of the firſt mule in a ſet. Before him went the band, with numerous and various inſtruments, producing "more noiſe than harmony." The inſtruments were ſuch as are well known, timbrels, horns, and bells. The negro king arrives himſelf, "ſerene and ſevere," and the Portugueſe captain comes forward to meet him, "magnificent in dreſs and grave in aſpect." The king takes the hand of the other in ſign of peace, and the ceremonious part of the matter being ended, Azambuja makes known the propoſition he had brought from his maſter (here we muſt take the very words of the hiſtorian), "which was to

" make the negro king underſtand firſt the way " of the catholic rites, and then to hide from him " the way of our covetouſneſs, aſking leave to " make a houſe in which our people could live; " and force was to be uſed to compel them, if it " ſhould be neceſſary." " I do not," ſays the candid hiſtorian, " imagine that I ſhall perſuade the " world that our intent was only to be preachers; " but on the other hand the world muſt not fancy " that our intent was merely to be traders."*

The Portugueſe captain was liſtened to with " marvellous ſilence," and the propoſition touching the Chriſtian faith well received: the other about building a fort was liſtened to very coldly. The negro king was not ſo dull as to be without an unpleaſant foreſight of what this fort-building might come to. However, the Portugueſe captain preſſed the point, and the negro king gave it up, and took himſelf away. The Portugueſe artizans began forthwith to work, but unfortunately commenced upon a rock that was held ſacred, upon which the negroes ruſhed upon them. Azambuja diverted this danger by an inſtant diſ-

* Yo no imagino perſuadir al mundo que nueſtro intento era ſolo el de ſer predicadores, a trueque de que èl no imagine, que era ſolo el de ſer mercaderes.—*Faria y Souſa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 3.

tribution of preſents, which ſoothed the negroes completely, thus verifying the proverb, ſays the hiſtorian, that "gifts break through rocks." The caſtle was built, and called the fort of St. George. Azambuja being made lieutenant, ruled for three years, and came out of his employment with applauſe, "a difficult thing to attain amongſt "the Portugueſe." The writer might have added amongſt all people; for ſecond-hand authority has within it the elements of decay and diſapprobation, meeting with that criticiſm and ſuperviſion when alive which in the caſe of other authority is often poſtponed until after its death.

The King of Portugal about this time takes the title of "Lord of Guinea," and deſires his captains to leave more formal notice of their diſcoveries at the place of diſcovery: to ſet up ſtones, declaring "the king, the captain, and the time; by whoſe order, by whom, and when" the diſcovery was made. The firſt captain ſent out after this order was Diego Cam; and Martin Behaim, the great aſtronomer and geographer, is ſaid to have accompanied him. They diſcovered the kingdom of Congo: and, at the requeſt of the king of Congo, took back ſome of the ſons of the principal men to be baptized, and to learn the Chriſtian faith. Diego Cam was alſo bearer of a

1484. Congo diſcovered by Diego Cam.

requeſt that prieſts ſhould be ſent to Congo. The king of Benin, a territory between the Gold Coaſt and Congo, made at this time a ſimilar requeſt, by an ambaſſador ſent to the king of Portugal. This ambaſſador, while at Liſbon, happens to ſpeak about a greater power in Africa than his maſter, to whom indeed his maſter is the vaſſal, which inſtantly ſets the Portugueſe king thinking about Preſter John,—the ſearch after whom is in the hiſtory of diſcovery what alchemy was to chemiſtry. The king concludes that this greater power muſt be Preſter John. Bartholomew Diaz and two other captains are accordingly ſent out on further diſcovery. They do not find Preſter John, but get as far as a cape which from experience they call Cape Stormy, but which their maſter, ſeeing in its diſcovery an omen of better things, re-names as the Cape of Good Hope. Here we have got down the coaſt nearly to the ſouthernmoſt point, and ſhall ſoon be curving round in due courſe to India.

Cape of Good Hope diſcovered.

But expeditions by ſea were not the only modes of diſcovery undertaken by the Portugueſe in the reign of John the Second of Portugal. Pedro de Covilham and Alfonſo de Paiva went on an enterprize of diſcovery mainly by land. The latter died at Cairo: the former made his way to Can-

Expedition by land to Preſter John's Country. 1487.

anor, Calecut, and Goa, and thence back to Cairo, where he found that his companion had died. He then ſet out again, and eventually came into the kingdom of Shoa, to the court of the king of Habbeſh, who fulfilled ſufficiently in Covillam's eyes the idea of Preſter John, and was accordingly called ſo. It is a curious coincidence that an ambaſſador from this very king of Habbeſh, called Lucas Marcos, a prieſt of that country, came about this time to Rome, and afterwards to Liſbon, which, as we are told, gave new health to all the king of Portugal's "hopes, wiſhes, "and endeavours."

A more remarkable perſon, even than an ambaſſador from Preſter John, came nearly at the ſame time to Liſbon. This was Bemoin, prince of Jalof. Bemoin came to ſeek the protection of the king of Portugal, and his ſtory was this. He was the brother on the mother's ſide of Brian, king of Jalof. This king was inert and vicious. He had, however, the ſenſe to make Bemoin prime miniſter, and to throw all the cares and troubles of governing upon him. Nothing was heard in the kingdom but of Bemoin. But he, ſeeing perhaps the inſecurity of his poſition, diligently made friends with the

Bemoin Prince of Jalof.

Portugueſe, keeping aloof, however, from becoming a convert, though he liſtened formally to thoſe who expounded the Chriſtian faith to him. Cibitab, a brother of the inert Brian, by the father's ſide, became jealous of Bemoin, revolted, killed Brian, and vanquiſhed Bemoin, who threw himſelf upon the protection of his Portugueſe friends and came to Liſbon.

Bemoin was received magnificently by King John of Portugal. The negro prince had formerly alleged that one of his reaſons for not becoming a Chriſtian was the fear of diſguſting his followers; but being in Portugal that reaſon no longer holds good and he now becomes a convert, and is baptized as Don John Bemoin, King John being his Godfather. Twenty four of Bemoin's gentlemen received baptiſm after him. This is the account of his reception.

" Bemoin, becauſe he was a man of large ſize and fine
" preſence, about forty years old, with a long and well
" arranged beard, appeared indeed not like a barbarous
" pagan, but as one of our own princes, to whom all
" honor and reverence were due: with like majeſty and
" gravity of demeanour he commenced and finiſhed his
" oration, with ſuch inducements to make men bewail
" his ſad fortune in exile, that only ſeeing theſe natural
" ſigns of ſorrow, people comprehended what the inter-

" preter afterwards ſaid. And having finiſhed the ſtate-
" ment of his caſe as a good orator would, in declaring
" that his only remedy and only hope was in the great-
" neſs and generoſity of the king, with whom he ſpoke
" aſide for a ſhort time, he was anſwered by the king in
" few words, ſo much to his ſatisfaction that immediately
" it made a change in his whole look, ſpirits, and bearing,
" rendering him moſt joyous. And taking leave of the
" king, he went to kiſs the queen's hand, and then
" that of the prince, to whom he ſaid a few words, at
" the end of which he prayed the prince that he would
" intercede in his favour with the king. And thence
" he was conducted to his lodgings by all the nobility
" that accompanied him."*

After this Bemoin had many converſations with the king, and always acquitted himſelf well.† Amongſt other things he gave information to the king reſpecting various African nations, and eſpecially of the king of a Jewiſh people who in many things were like Chriſtians. Here again the king was delighted at finding himſelf upon the traces of Preſter John. It muſt not be forgotten to mention, that the king made great rejoicings in honor of Bemoin's converſion, on

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* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 6.

† Moſtrava ſer dotado de mui claro entendimento.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 7.

which occaſion, the negro prince's attendants performed ſingular feats on horſeback.*

Bemoin maintained his favour and ſucceeded in his object of getting aſſiſtance from the Portugueſe. He was ſent back to his own country with a Portugueſe ſquadron of twenty caravels, which had in hand, beſides his reſtitution, to found a fort on the banks of the river Senegal.

The Portugueſe arrived at the river, and began building the fort, but are ſaid to have choſen an unhealthy ſpot to build on. Whether they could have choſen a healthy one is doubtful. Pedro Vaz thought, however, that there was treachery on Bemoin's part and killed him with the blow of a dagger on board his veſſel. The fort-building was left off and Pedro Vaz returned to Portugal, where he found the king exceſſively vexed and diſpleaſed at the fate of Bemoin. Faria y Souſa diſmiſſes the matter with the following pithy remark. "The way to heaven by the Portugueſe "hand (baptiſm) came dear to Bemoin: and

* Elle D. João Bemoij, tambem a ſeu modo, quiz fazer as ſuas; porque como trazia alguns homens grandes cavalgadores, diante del Rey corriam a carreira em pé, virandoſe, e aſſentando-ſe, e tornando-ſe levantar, tudo em huma corrida: e com a mâo no arçâo da ſella ſaltavam no chão, correndo a toda força do cavallo; e tornavam-ſe á ſella tâo ſoltos, como o podiam fazer a pè quedo.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 7.

" more ſo, if by chance it was hidden from him " by his deſpair at finding ſo little faith in one " who ſought to teach him the true faith."

The ſtory of Bemoin is intereſting, not that it carries forward the hiſtory much, but it and other ſuch narratives ſhow the temper, manners, and views of both Europeans and Africans towards each other; and go to indicate what might have been made out of their intercourſe.

King John the Second was more ſucceſsful in converting the inhabitants of Congo, than of Jalof. The ambaſſador from Congo, having ſpent two years at Liſbon, during which his attendants learnt the Portugueſe language and were inſtructed in Chriſtian doctrine, was ſent back to his own country with three Portugueſe veſſels. The Portugueſe were well received: maſs was performed in the midſt of thouſands of negroes; a church was built; and the king of Congo became Chriſtian and took the name of John. He had occaſion at that time to make war againſt a neighbouring people; and ſallying forth with a croſs depicted on his banner, he was victorious. After this, the Portugueſe expedition, which really ſeems to have come out for no other purpoſe than to introduce Chriſtianity into Congo, returned, leaving perſons capable of continuing the work

1490.

of converſion. The old negro king ſoon grew a little cold towards Chriſtianity, diſliking much its monogamic rules. He had two ſons: the elder approving and the other diſapproving of the new faith. The king himſelf inclined to his pagan younger ſon and the other was diſinherited. On the death of the old monarch, the younger ſon ſuddenly attacked the other who had only about him thirty ſeven followers, Portugueſe and negroes. However, under the Chriſtian banner and probably with ſome little aid of Chriſtian diſcipline, the elder vanquiſhed his younger brother with all his hoſt; became king, and did his beſt to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity throughout his dominions.

Chriſtianity in Congo.

This king of Congo reigned fifty years; he was not only a warm favourer of Chriſtianity, but himſelf, an active preacher, having qualified himſelf by learning the Portugueſe language and ſtudying the Scriptures. He ſent his children and grandchildren over to Portugal; had them well taught both in Latin and Portugueſe; and of his own lineage there were two biſhops in his kingdom. Barros tells us, that all theſe things were done at the expenſe of the kings of Portugal.* A very noble work it was of theirs: and in the

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 10.

preſent ſtate of that kingdom, theſe are the works which may conſole the Portugueſe nation and their rulers with a not unbecoming recollection of paſt greatneſs, and, perhaps, reanimate them to great deeds again.

We may now ſtop in our taſk of tracing Portugueſe diſcovery on the coaſt of Africa. We have ſeen it quietly making its way for ſeventy years, from Cape Nam to the Cape of Good Hope, ſome ſeven thouſand miles. This long courſe of diſcovery has been almoſt entirely thrown into ſhade by the more daring and brilliant diſcovery of America, which we have now to enter upon. Yet theſe doings on the African coaſt had in them all the energy, perſeverance, and courage which diſtinguiſhed American diſcovery. Prince Henry himſelf was hardly a leſs perſonage than Columbus. They had different elements to contend in. But the man whom princely wealth and poſition, and the temptation to intrigue which there muſt have been in the then ſtate of the Portugueſe court, never induced to ſwerve from the one purpoſe which he maintained for forty years, unſhaken by popular clamour for or againſt him, however ſorely vexed he might be with inward doubts and miſgivings; who "ſcorned delights and lived

" laborious days," to devote himſelf to this one purpoſe—enduring the occaſional ſhort-comings of his agents with that forbearance which ſprings from a care for the enterpriſe in hand, ſo deep as to control private vexation (the very ſame motive which made Columbus bear ſo mildly with inſult and contumely from his followers),—ſuch a man is worthy to be put in compariſon with the other great diſcoverer who worked out his enterpriſe through poverty, neglect, ſore travail and the viciſſitudes of courts. Moreover we muſt not forget that Prince Henry was undoubtedly the father of modern geographical diſcovery, and that the reſult of his exertions muſt have given much impulſe to Columbus, if it did not firſt move him to his great undertaking. Having ſaid ſo much in favour of Prince Henry, we muſt not omit to ſpeak highly of the contemporary Portugueſe monarchs who ſeem to have done their part in African diſcovery with much vigour, without jealouſy of Prince Henry, and with good intent; and I would wiſh to include in ſome part of this praiſe his many brave captains.

The rediſcovery of America (I ſay " rediſcovery," becauſe I do not doubt that it was diſcovered by the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries,) juſt at the time when the whole of

the weſtern coaſt of Africa had been made out by the Portugueſe, appears to us, humanly ſpeaking, to have furniſhed a moſt inopportune conjuncture for evil. Had not America afforded a market for ſlaves, we hardly ſee where elſe it could have grown up, and if it had not grown up then, legitimate commerce would have come in its place, and prevented any ſuch trade. Black ſlaves might have been for ſome time a favourite part of the grandeur of a great houſehold, but we do not ſee how they could have occupied a country already ſtocked with hardy labourers, fitted for the ſoil, as was the caſe with Europe. Ca da Moſto has told us that in 1455 A.D., the export of ſlaves was between ſeven and eight hundred yearly. Seeing how careleſs people are in the uſe of numbers, ſo that ſhrewd men of the world moſtly divide by two or three the account in numbers of everything they hear, except men's accounts of their own debts and loſſes, it is not improbable that Ca da Moſto gives us an exaggerated ſtatement of the number of ſlaves exported, which at the moſt is but a ſmall affair indeed, when compared with the immenſe exportations of modern days. Moreover, from what is mentioned of the voyages ſince that time to the one we are now ſpeaking of, i. e. from 1455

to 1492, it may be concluded that the trade in ſlaves had fallen off, ſo little are they mentioned, while at the ſame time we have ſigns of other articles of commerce engaging the attention of the Portugueſe.*

Leaving now for a while all mention of Portugueſe affairs, we commence the chapter of that man's doings whom we laſt heard of incidentally as ſon-in-law of Pereſtrelo and living at Porto Santo; but who is now about to become one of the few names which carry on from period to period the tidings of the world's great ſtory, as beacon fires upon the mountain tops. There is a peculiar faſcination in the account of ſuch a doing as the diſcovery of America, which cannot be done any more, or anything like it,—which ſtands alone in the doings of the world. We naturally expect to find ſomething quite peculiar in the man who did it, who was indeed one of the great ſpirits of the earth, but ſtill of

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* Precedieron otros a eſtos; como la coſta de donde vino la primera malagueta: Faria y Souſa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 2. El Rey D. Juan II, que ſuccediò a ſu Padre D. Alonſo cõſiderando que en la tierra nuevamente conocida avia riquezas que aumentavan ſus rentas, y viendo diſpoſicion en ſus habitantes para admitir nueſtra ley, ordenó que ſe levantaſſe una fortaleza en'aquella parte adonde ſe hazia el reſcate del oro que llamaron de la Mina.—*Faria y Souſa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 3.

the ſame kind of ſtuff of which great inventors and diſcoverers have moſtly been made. Lower down, too, in mankind there is much of the ſame nature leading to various kinds of worthy deeds, though there are no more continents for it to diſcover. There was great ſimplicity about him, and much loyalty and veneration, (for truly great people are apt to ſee here, and beyond here, ſomething greater than themſelves, or even than their own ideas). He was as magnanimous as it is, perhaps, poſſible to be for one so ſenſitive and impaſſioned as he was. He was humane, ſelf-denying, courteous. He had an intellect of that largely-enquiring kind which may remind us of our great Engliſh philoſopher Bacon. He was ſingularly reſolute and enduring. The Spaniards have a word, "longanimidad," (longanimity) which has been well applied to him. He was rapt in his deſigns, having a ringing for ever in his ears of great projects, making him deaf to much, perhaps, that prudence might have heeded; —one to be loved by thoſe near him, and likely by his preſence to inſpire favour and reſpect.

Such was the man under whom we are now going to enter into a wider ſphere of our hiſtory of Slavery.

CHAPTER III.

Discovery of America.

COLUMBUS was born in the Genoeſe territory in the year 1447 or 1448. His family was obſcure, but, like moſt others, when the light of a great man born in it is thrown upon its records, real and poſſible, it preſents ſome other names not altogether unworthy to be put down as the great man's anceſtors. Columbus was ſent to Pavia for his education, and ſeems to have profited by it, for we find that he wrote legibly, deſigned well, was a good Latin ſcholar, and it is probable that he acquired then the rudiments of the various ſciences in which he afterwards became proficient. At the age of fourteen he went to ſea. Of his many voyages, which of them took place before, and which after, his coming to Portugal, we have no diſtinct record; but we know that he traverſed moſt of the known parts of the world, that he viſited England,* that he made his way to Ice-

Early voyages of Columbus.

* Ví todo el Levante y Poniente, que dice por ir al camino de

land,* that he had been at El Mina, on the coaſt of Africa,† and had ſeen the iſlands of the Archipelago.‡ He alſo mentions having been employed by King René of Provence, to intercept a Venetian galliot. The next thing that we may ſay we know for certain of him is, that he went to Portugal, where he married Donna Felipa Muñiz Pereſtrelo; and is ſaid to have been ſhown by his mother-in-law the papers of her deceaſed huſband, the late governor of Porto Santo. Columbus lived for ſome time at Porto Santo,§ and made voyages to different parts of Africa in company with Portugueſe mariners. At what preciſe period his great idea came into his mind we have no records to ſhow. The flow of Portugueſe diſco-

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Septentrion, que es Inglaterra.—*Navarrete, Coleccion. Madrid*, 1825. vol. 1, p. 101.

* Yo navegué el año de cuatrocientos y ſetenta y ſiete en el mes de Febrero ultra Tile . . . . es tan grande como Inglaterra, van los Ingleſes con mercaderia; eſpecialmente los de Briſtol.—*Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias, MSS.* Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 8.

† Yo eſtuve en la Fortaleça de San Jorge de la Mina.—*Barcia, Hiſt. del Almirante Chriſt. Colon. Madrid*, 1749. cap. 4.

‡ En otra parte hace mencion haber navegado à las Iſlas del Archipièlago donde en una dellas que ſe llama Enxion vido ſacar almaciga de ciertos arboles.—*Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias, MSS.* Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 3.

§ Las Caſas, upon the authority of Diego Columbus.—*Hiſt. de las Indias, MSS.* Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 3.

The ſources of his great reſolve.

veries had excited the mind of Europe, and muſt have influenced Columbus, living in the midſt of them. This may be ſaid without in the leaſt detracting from the merits of Columbus as a diſcoverer. Men do not jump from nothing to the higheſt realities, like people in ſick dreams. A great invention or diſcovery is like a daring leap, but from land to land, not from nothing to ſomething. And if we look at the ſubject fairly, we ſhall probably admit that Columbus had as large a ſhare in the merit of his diſcovery as moſt inventors, or diſcoverers, can lay claim to. If the idea which has rendered him famous was not in his mind at the outſet of his career of inveſtigation, at any rate he had from the firſt the deſire for diſcovery, or, as he ſays himſelf, the wiſh to know the ſecrets of this world.* Whether this impulſe ſoon brought him to his utmoſt height of ſurvey, and that he then only applied to learning in order to confirm his firſt views; or whether the impulſe merely carried him along, with growing perception of the great truth he was to

* Muy altos Reges; de muy pequeña edad entré en la mar navegando e lo he contínuado faſta hoy: la meſma arte inclina á quien le proſigue á deſear de ſaber los ſecretos deſte mundo. Ya paſan de cuarenta años que yo voy en eſte uſo: todo lo que faſta hoy ſe navega todo lo he andado.—*Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip.* num. 140.

prove, into deep thinking upon coſmographical ſtudies, Portugueſe diſcoveries, the dreams of learned men, the labours of former geographers, the dim prophetic notices of great unknown lands and vague reports amongſt mariners of drift wood ſeen on the ſeas; at any rate we know that he arrived at a fixed concluſion that there is a way by the weſt to the Indies, that he could find it out, and ſo come to Cipango, Cathay, the grand Can, and all that his much-ſtudied Marco Polo told him of. Let us not pretend to lay down the exact chronological order of the formation of the idea in his mind,—in fact to know more about it than the man would probably be able to tell us himſelf.

Of the works of learned men, that which according to Ferdinand Columbus, had moſt weight with his father, was the "Coſmographia" of Cardinal Aliaco.* Columbus was alſo confirmed in his views of a weſtern paſſage to the Indies by Paulo Toſcanelli, the Florentine philoſopher. That the notices, however, of weſtern lands were not

* The following paſſage is particularly referred to by Ferdinand Columbus: "Et dicit Ariſtoteles ut mare parvum eſt inter finem Hiſpaniæ a parte occidentis et inter principium Indiæ a parte orientis. Et non loquitur de Hiſpaniâ citeriori, quæ nunc Hiſpania communiter dicitur, ſed de Hiſpaniâ ulteriori quæ nunc Africa dicitur."—*Aliaco, Ymago Mundi Capitulum octavum.*

ſuch as to have much weight with other men, is ſufficiently proved by the difficulty which Columbus had in contending with adverſe geographers and men of ſcience in general, of whom he ſays, he never was able to convince any one.† After the new world had been diſcovered, many ſcattered indications were then found to have foreſhown it.

One thing which cannot be denied to Columbus, is that he worked out his own idea himſelf. And how he did ſo muſt now be told. He firſt applied himſelf to his countrymen the Genoeſe, who would have nothing to ſay to his ſcheme: then to the Portugueſe, who liſtened, but with bad faith ſought to anticipate him by ſending out a caravel with inſtructions founded upon his plan. The caravel returned, the ſailors not having heart to venture far enough weſtward. It was not an enterprize to be carried out by men who had only ſtolen the idea of it.

1485. Columbus arrives in Spain.

Columbus, diſguſted at the treatment he had received from the Portugueſe court, leaves Liſbon, and after viſiting Genoa, as it appears, goes to Spain to ſee what fortune he can meet with there, arriving at Palos in the year 1485. He leaves

† Las Caſas. Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS. primera parte, tom. 1, cap. 33.

his young ſon at La Rabida, a monaſtery near Palos, under the care of Juan Perez de Marchena ever after to be the ſtouteſt friend of our great adventurer, who in January 1486 makes his way to the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella, then at Cordova. There Columbus finds at once a friend in Alonſo de Quintanilla, a man like himſelf, who took delight in great things (*que tenia guſto en coſas grandes*) and who gets him a hearing from the Spaniſh monarchs by whom the matter is referred to the queen's confeſſor, who ſummons a junta of coſmographers, not a promiſing aſſemblage, to conſult about it. They think that ſo many perſons wiſe in nautical affairs never could have overlooked ſuch a thing as this; moreover they had their own arguments againſt the ſcheme, amongſt which was the not unnatural one that Columbus, after he had deſcended the hemiſphere, would not be able to mount again, for it would be like getting up a mountain, as they ſaid. In fine they decided that this ſcheme of the Genoeſe mariner was "vain and impoſſible, and "that it did not belong to the majeſty of ſuch "great princes to determine anything upon ſuch "weak grounds of information."*

* Herrera, Hiſtoria general, Madrid, 1601. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

Ferdinand and Iſabella ſeem not to have taken the extremely unfavorable view of the matter entertained by the junta of coſmographers, or at leaſt, to have been willing to put off Columbus gently; for they merely ſaid, that with the wars at preſent on their hands, and eſpecially that of Granada, they could not undertake any new expenſes, but when that war was ended, they would examine his plan more carefully.*

Thus ended a ſolicitation at the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella: which, according to ſome authorities, laſted five years; for the facts abovementioned, though ſhort in narration, occupied no little time in tranſaction. Columbus left the court and went to Seville with "much ſadneſs and diſcomfiture" (*con mucha triſteza y deſconſuelo.*) He is ſaid then to have applied to the Duke of Medina Sidonia; and afterwards to the Duke of Medina Celi. Certain it is, that when Columbus ſucceeded in his enterprize, the duke of Medina Celi wrote to the Cardinal of Spain, ſhowing that he (the duke) had maintained Co-

* Deſpues de mucho tiempo mandaron los Reyes Catolicos, que ſe reſpõdieſſe a don Chriſtoual, que por hallarſe ocupados en muchas guerras, y en particular en la conquiſta de Granada, no podian emprender nueuos gaſtos, que acabado aquello mandarian examinar mejor ſu pretenſion, y le deſpidieron.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

lumbus two years in his houſe,* and was ready to have undertaken the enterprize himſelf, but that he ſaw it was one for the queen herſelf, and even then that he wiſhed to have had a part in it. I do not doubt that any man in whoſe houſe Columbus was for two years, would have caught ſome portion of his enthuſiaſm and have been ready to embark in his enterprize. However, it may be conjectured that none of the nobles of the Spaniſh court would have been likely to undertake the matter without ſome ſanction from the king or queen.

Columbus was now minded to go into France, and with this intent went to the monaſtery of La Rabida for his ſon Diego, intending to leave him at Cordova. At the monaſtery there was Columbus's faithful friend Juan Perez, to whom he doubtleſs detailed all his griefs and ſtruggles, and who could not bear to hear of his intention to leave the country and go to France. Juan Perez takes Garcia Hernandez into council upon the affairs of Columbus, and they three talk the matter well over until they come to the concluſion

* Suplico á vueſtra Señoría me quiera ayudar en ello, é ge lo ſuplique de mi parte, pues á mi cabſa y por yo detenerle en mi caſa dos años, y haberle enderezado á ſu ſervicio, ſe ha hallado tan grande coſa como eſta.—*Navarrete, Coll. dip.* num. 14, vol. 2.

that Juan Perez who was known to the queen, having on ſome occaſions acted as her confeſſor, ſhould write to her highneſs. He does ſo; ſhe ſends for him, ſees him, and in conſequence ſends money to Columbus to enable him to come to court to renew his ſuit. He attends the court again, but the negotiation is broken off on the ground of the largeneſs of the conditions which he aſks for. The opponents ſaid that theſe conditions were too large if he ſucceeded, and if he ſhould not ſucceed, and the conditions ſhould come to nothing, they thought that there was an air of trifling in granting ſuch conditions at all.* And truth to ſay, they were very large; that he was to be made an Admiral at once, to be appointed viceroy of the countries he ſhould diſcover, and have an eighth of the profits of the expedition. The only way, as it appears to me, of accounting for the extent of theſe demands and his perſeverance in them, even to the riſk of total failure, is that the diſcovering of the Indies was but a ſtep in his mind to the greater undertakings, as they ſeemed to him, which he had in view of going to Jeruſalem with an army, and in fact making another

* Les parecia mucho lo que queria ſi la empreſſa ſucedia bien, y ſino juzgauan por ligereza el concederlo.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

cruſade. For Columbus carried the ideas of the twelfth century into the ſomewhat ſelf-ſeeking fifteenth. However, the negotiation fails, and Columbus reſolves again to go to France, when Alonſo de Quintanilla and Juan Perez contrive to get a hearing for our great adventurer from Cardinal Mendoza who is pleaſed with him. Columbus now offers, in order to meet the objections of his opponents, to pay an eighth part of the expenſe of the expedition. Still nothing is done. And now finally Columbus determines to go to France, indeed is actually gone one day in January of the year 1492, when Luis de Santangel, receiver of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the crown of Aragon, a man much devoted to the plans of Columbus, addreſſed the Queen with all the energy that a man feels when he is aware that it is his laſt time for ſpeaking in favour of a thing which he has much at heart. He tells her that he wonders that having always had a ſtrong mind for great things, it ſhould be wanting to her on this occaſion.* He endeavours to pique her jealouſy as a monarch, by ſuggeſting that the enterprize may fall into the hands of other princes.

* Que auiendo tenido ſiempre doblado animo para grandes coſas, le faltaſſe en eſta ocaſion.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, cap. 8.

Then he ſays ſomething in behalf of Columbus himſelf, and the queen was not unlikely to know well the bearing of a great man. He intimates to her highneſs that what is an impoſſibility to the coſmographers, may not be ſo in nature. Nor, continues he, ſhould it be attributed to lightneſs the having tried at ſuch a great thing, even though it ſhould fail, for it is the part of great and generous princes to know the ſecrets of the world. Other princes (he does not ſay thoſe of neighbouring Portugal) had gained eternal fame this way. He concluded by ſaying that all that Columbus wanted, to ſet the expedition afloat, was but a million of maravedis; and that for ſo ſmall a ſum ſo great an enterprize ſhould not be forſaken. Theſe well addreſſed arguments falling in, as they did, with thoſe of Quintanilla the treaſurer, who had great influence with the queen, prevailed. She thanked theſe lords for their counſel, and ſaid ſhe would adopt it, but they muſt wait until the finances had recovered a little from the drain upon them occaſioned by the conqueſt of Granada, or if they thought that the plan muſt be forthwith carried out, ſhe would pledge her jewels to raiſe the neceſſary funds. Santangel and Quintanilla kiſs her hands, highly delighted at ſucceeding; Santangel offers to lend the money

Iſabella determines to equip Columbus.

from his own eſtate; and the queen ſends an Alguazil to overtake Columbus and bring him back to the court. He is overtaken at the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada, returns to Santa Fé, is well received, and finally the agreement between him and their catholic highneſſes is ſettled with the ſecretary Coloma.*

We do not ſee much of Ferdinand in all theſe proceedings; and it is generally underſtood that he looked rather coldly upon the propoſitions of Columbus. We cannot ſay that he was at all unwiſe in ſo doing. His great compeer, Henry the Seventh, did not haſten to adopt the ſame project ſubmitted to him by Bartholomew Columbus, ſent into England for that purpoſe by his brother Chriſtopher; and I do not know that it has been thought to derogate from the Engliſh king's ſagacity. Men in power in all ages are ſurrounded by projectors, and have to clear the way about them as well as they can, and to take care that they get time and room for managing their own immediate affairs. It is not to be wondered at if good plans ſhould ſometimes ſhare the fate which ought to attend, and muſt attend, the great maſs of all projects ſubmitted to men in power. Here,

* Herrera, dec. 1, l. 1, c. 9.

however, the ultimate event would juſtify the monarch's wiſdom; for it would be hard to prove that Spain has derived aught but a golden weakneſs from her ſplendid diſcoveries and poſſeſſions in the new world.

Moreover, the characters of the two men being eſſentially oppoſed, it is probable that Ferdinand felt contempt for the uncontrolled enthuſiaſm of Columbus; and, upon the whole, it is rather to be wondered that the king conſented to give the powers he did, than that he did not do more. Had it been a matter which concerned his own kingdom of Aragon, he might not have gone ſo far, but the expenſes were to be charged on Caſtile, and perhaps he looked upon the whole affair as another inſtance of Iſabella's good-natured enthuſiaſm.

1492. The agreement between Columbus and their catholic highneſſes was ſigned at Santa Fé on the 17th of April 1492: and Columbus went to Palos to make preparation for his voyage, bearing with him an order that the two veſſels which that city furniſhed annually to the crown for three months, ſhould be placed at his diſpoſal.

There was no delay in furniſhing the funds for this expedition; for we find from an entry in an account-book belonging to the biſhopric of Palen-

cia,* that one million, one hundred and forty thouſand maravedis were advanced by Santangel in May, 1492, " being the ſum he lent for pay- " ing the caravels which their highneſſes ordered " to go as the armada to the Indies, and for " paying Chriſtopher Columbus, who goes in the " ſaid armada."

Juan Perez, we are told, was active in perſuading men to embark. The Pinzons, rich men and ſkilful mariners of Palos, joined in the undertaking and ſubſcribed an eighth of the expenſes: and three veſſels were manned with ninety mariners, and proviſioned for a year. At length all the preparations were complete, and on a Friday (not inauſpicious in this caſe) the 3rd of Auguſt 1492, after they had all confeſſed and taken the ſacrament, they ſet ſail from the bar of Saltes, making for the Canary Iſlands.

1492. Columbus ſets ſail.

Columbus is now fairly afloat: about to change the long continued, weary, dreary ſuitor's life for the ſharp, intenſe anxiety of a ſtruggle in which there is no alternative to ſucceſs, but deplorable, ridiculous, fatal failure. Speaking afterwards of this ſuitor time he ſays " eight years I was torn " with diſputes, and in a word, my propoſition

* Navarrete Coleccion, vol. 2, p. 5.

" was a thing for mockery."* It was now to be ſeen what mockery was in it. Our account of the voyage is mainly taken from an abridgment of Columbus's own diary, made by Las Caſas, who in ſome places gives the Admiral's own words. The little ſquadron reached the Canary Iſlands in a few days, with no accident worth recording, except that the caravel " Pinta," commanded by Martin Alonſo Pinzon, unſhipped her rudder. This was ſuppoſed to be no accident, but to have been done by the owners of the veſſel, who liked not the voyage. The Admiral, (from henceforth Columbus is called the Admiral) is obliged to ſtay ſome time at the Canary Iſlands to refit the Pinta, and to make ſome change in the cut of her ſails. In the abridgment of the diary, under the date 9th of Auguſt, the Admiral remarks that many Spaniards of theſe iſlands (*hombres honrados*) ſwear that each year they ſee land; and he remembers how in the year 1484 ſome one came from the iſland of Madeira to the king of Portugal to beg a caravel to go and diſcover that land which he declared he ſaw each year, and in the ſame manner.† Had not the Admiral been conſcious of the ſubſtantial

* Los ocho fuí traido en diſputas, y en fin ſe dió mi aviſo por cauſa de burla.—*Navarrete, Col.* vol. 2, p. 254.

† Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 5.

originality of his proceedings, he would hardly have been ſo careful to collect theſe ſcattered notices which might afterwards be uſed, as many like them were uſed, to depreciate that originality. There is no further entry in the diary until the 6th of September, when they ſet out from Gomera (one of the Canary Iſlands) on their unknown way. For many days, what we have of the diary is little more than a log-book giving the rate of ſailing, or rather two rates, one for Columbus's own private heed, and the other for the ſailors. For inſtance, when they go ſixty leagues in a day and night, it is put down at forty eight for the ſailors. On the 13th of September, it is noted that the needle declined in the evening to the north-weſt, and on the enſuing morning to the north-eaſt—the firſt time that ſuch a variation had been obſerved or, at leaſt, recorded by Europeans. On the 14th, the ſailors of the Caravel Niña ſaw two tropical birds, which they ſaid were never wont to be ſeen at more than fifteen or twenty leagues from ſhore. On the 15th, they all ſaw a meteor fall from heaven, which made them very ſad. On the 16th they firſt came upon thoſe immenſe plains of ſeaweed, (the "fucus natans") which conſtitute the Mar de Sargaſſo, and which, according to Humboldt, occupy a ſpace in the Atlantic almoſt equal

to ſeven times the extent of France.* The aſpect of theſe plains terrified the ſailors greatly, who thought they might be coming upon ſubmerged lands and rocks; but finding that the veſſels cut their way well through this ſea-weed, the ſailors thereupon took heart. On the 17th, they ſee more of theſe plains of ſea-weed, and thinking themſelves to be near land, they are almoſt in good ſpirits, when finding that the needle declined to the weſt a whole point of the compaſs and more, their hopes ſuddenly ſank again: they began to "murmur between their "teeth," and to wonder whether they were not in another world. However Columbus orders an obſervation to be taken at day break, when the needle is found to point to the north again; and he has forthwith an ingenious theory to account for the phenomenon of its variation which had ſo diſturbed the ſailors; namely, that it was cauſed by the north ſtar moving round the pole. The ſailors are, therefore, quieted upon this head. In the morning of the ſame day they catch a crab, from which Columbus infers that they cannot be more than eighty leagues diſtant from land. The 18th, they ſee many birds, and a cloud in the

* Humboldt's Koſmos, vol. 2, p. 287.

diſtance; and that night expect to ſee land. On the 19th, in the morning, comes a pelican; in the evening another; birds not uſually ſeen twenty leagues from the coaſt: alſo drizzling rain without wind, a certain ſign, as the diary ſays, of proximity to land. However the Admiral will not beat about for land, as he concludes that the land which theſe various ſigns give token of, can only be iſlands, as indeed they were. He will ſee them on his return: but now he muſt preſs on to the Indies.* This reſolution ſhows his great mind, and the ſcientific concluſion he had come to.

He is not to be diverted from the main deſign by any partial ſucceſs, though by this time he knew well the fears of his men, ſome of whom, according to the account of Herrera, had already come to the concluſion "that it would be their "beſt plan to throw him quietly into the ſea, and "ſay he unfortunately fell in while he ſtood ab-"ſorbed in looking at the ſtars" *(embebido en conſiderar las eſtrellas.)* Indeed, three days after he had reſolved to paſs on to the Indies, we find him

* Mas de que tuvo por cierto que á la banda del Norte y del Sur habia algunas iſlas, como en la verdad lo eſtaban y él iba por medio dellas; porque ſu voluntad era de ſeguir adelante haſta las Indias, y el tiempo es bueno, porque placiendo á Dios á la vuelta ſe veria todo: eſtas ſon ſus palabras. *Navarrete, Col.* vol. 1, p. 11.

ſaying, for Las Caſas gives his words, "very "needful for me was this contrary wind, for the "people were very much tormented with the idea "that there were no winds on theſe ſeas that "could take them back to Spain."

On they go, having ſigns occaſionally in the preſence of birds and graſs and fiſh that land muſt be near; but land does not come. Once, too, they are all convinced that they ſee land: they ſing the "gloria in excelſis:" and even the Admiral goes out of his courſe towards this land which turns out to be no land. They are like men liſtening to a terrible diſcourſe, or oration, that ſeems to have many endings which end not: ſo that the hearer at laſt liſtens in grim deſpair, thinking that all things have loſt their meaning, and that ending is but another form of beginning.

Theſe mariners were ſtout-hearted, too: but what a thing it was to plunge, down-hill as it were, into a new world of waters, mocked day by day with ſigns of land that neared not. And theſe men had wives and ſweethearts at home, and did not bring out with them any great idea to uphold them, and had already done enough to make them great men in their towns, and to furniſh ample talk for the evenings of their lives.

Still we find Columbus, as late as the 3rd of October, ſaying, " that he did not chooſe to ſtop " beating about laſt week during thoſe days that " they had ſuch ſigns of land, although he had " knowledge of there being certain iſlands in that " neighbourhood, becauſe he would not ſuffer " any detention, ſince his object was to go to the " Indies: and if he ſhould ſtop on the way, he " ſays it would ſhow a want of brains."*

Meanwhile he had a hard taſk to keep his men in any order. Peter Martyr, who knew Columbus well, and probably had had a ſpecial account from him of theſe perilous days, deſcribes his way of dealing with the refractory mariners, and how he contrived to get them on from day to day; now ſoothing them with ſoft words, now carrying their minds from thought of the preſent danger by ſpreading out large hopes before them, not forgetting to let them know what their princes would ſay to them if they attempted aught againſt him, or would not obey his orders.† With this

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* *Navarrete*, Col. v, 1, p. 16.

† Poſt trigeſimum jam diem furore perciti, proclamabant, ut reducerentur: nè ulteriùs procederet, ſtimulabant hominem: ipſe verò, blandis modò verbis, amplâ ſpe modò, diem ex die protrahens, iratos mulcebat, depoſcebat: proditionis quoquè taxandos eſſe à regibus, ſi adverſi quicquam in eum molirentur, et ſi parere recuſarent, predicabat.—*Peter Martyr*, dec. 1, l. 1.

Babel of wild, frightened men around him, with mocking hopes, not knowing what each day would bring to him, on went Columbus. At laſt comes the 11th of October, and with it indubitable ſigns of land. The diary mentions their finding on that day a table board and a carved ſtick, the carving apparently wrought by ſome iron inſtrument. Herrera mentions alſo that the men in one of the veſſels ſaw a branch of a haw tree with fruit on it. Now, indeed, they muſt be cloſe to land. The ſun goes down upon the ſame weary round of waters which for ſo long a time their eyes had ached to ſee beyond, when at ten o'clock, Columbus, ſtanding on the poop of his veſſel, ſaw a light, and called to him, privately, Pedro Gutierrez, who ſaw it alſo. Then they called Rodrigo Sanchez, who had been ſent by their Highneſſes as overlooker; I fancy him the ſort of dry little man ſent by Dutch or Venetian ſtates to accompany and curb great generals, and who are generally anything but loved by them. Sanchez did not ſee the light at firſt, becauſe, as Columbus ſays, he did not ſtand in the place where it could be ſeen, but at laſt even he ſees it: and it may now be conſidered to have been ſeen officially. "It appeared like a candle that "went up and down, and Don Chriſtopher did

Columbus ſees a light on land.

" not doubt that it was true light, (no will-of-
" the-wiſp) and was on land: and ſo it was, as it
" came from people paſſing with lights from one
" cottage to another."*

We cannot but be ſorry for a poor common ſailor, Rodrigo de Triana, who ſaw the light juſt a little too late, got no reward, and of whom they tell a ſtory, that in ſadneſs and deſpite, after his return to Spain, he paſſed into Africa, and became a Mahometan. The award was adjudged to the Admiral: it was charged on the ſhambles (*carnicerias*) of Seville, and was always paid to the Admiral to the day of his death: for, ſays the hiſtorian Herrera,

" he ſaw light in the midſt of darkneſs, ſignifying the
" ſpiritual light which was introduced amongſt theſe
" barbarous people, God permitting that the war being
" finiſhed with the Moors, ſeven hundred and twenty
" years after they had ſet foot in Spain, this work (the
" converſion of the Indians) ſhould commence, ſo that
" the princes of Caſtile and Leon ſhould always be oc-
" cupied in bringing infidels to the knowledge of the
" Holy Catholic Faith."†

Theſe laſt words are notable. It is the very

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* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 12. † Ibid.

account that Columbus himſelf would probably have given of the matter. In the preface to his diary, which is an addreſs to Ferdinand and Iſabella, he ſpeaks at large (and Las Caſas gives the Admiral's own words) of the motives of their Highneſſes. He ſays how the Grand Can had ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, praying for doctors to inſtruct him in the faith. He ſpeaks of the expulſion of the Jews, probably intimating that that was alſo a proof of the devout intentions of their Highneſſes. And, indeed, he aſcribes no motive to the monarchs but religious ones.

"Your highneſſes as Catholic Chriſtians and princes, "lovers and furtherers of the Chriſtian faith, and ene- "mies of the ſect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and "hereſies, thought to ſend me, Chriſtopher Columbus, "to the aforeſaid provinces of India to ſee the afore- "ſaid princes, the cities and lands, and the diſpoſition of "them and of every thing about them, and the way "that ſhould be taken to convert them to the ſacred "faith."*

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* Vueſtras Altezas, como católicos criſtianos y Príncipes amadores de la ſanta fé criſtiana y acrecentadores della, y enemigos de la ſecta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y heregías, penſaron de enviarme á mi Criſtóbal Colon á las dichas partidas de India para ver los dichos príncipes, y los pueblos y tierras, y la diſpoſicion dellas y de todo, y la manera que ſe pudiera tener para la converſion dellas á nueſtra ſanta fé.—*Navarrete*, v. 1, p. 2.

The diary to which this addreſs was prefixed is probably one of the books which their highneſſes allude to in a letter to Columbus, as in their poſſeſſion, and which they ſay they have ſhown to nobody. I ſee no reaſon to doubt the good faith of the words of Columbus in this matter: and it is well to dwell upon them, becauſe we ſhall never come to a right underſtanding of theſe times and of the queſtion of ſlavery as connected with them, unleſs we fully appreciate the good as well as the bad motives which guided the firſt and moſt important perſons of the time.

As for Iſabella, there can be no doubt about her motives. Even in the lamentably unjuſt things in which ſhe was too often concerned, ſhe had what to her mind was compelling reaſon to act as ſhe did. Perhaps there is no one who ever lived to whom ſo much evil may be traced, all done, or rather permitted, upon the higheſt and pureſt motives. Whether we refer to the expulſion of the Jews, the treatment of the Mooriſh converts, or the eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition; all her proceedings in theſe matters were entirely ſincere and noble-minded. Methinks I can ſtill ſee her beautiful, majeſtic face, (with broad brow and clear, honeſt, loving eye,) as it looks upon us from one of the chapels in the cathedral

at Granada; too expreſſive and individual to be what painters give as an angel, and yet the next thing to it. Now ſhe looks down reproachfully, and yet with conſcious ſadneſs. I know what you would ſay, fair woman; that you obeyed the voice of Heaven—taking prieſts as its interpreters. Oh! that you had but liſtened to it, as it ſpoke in your own kindly heart, when with womanly pity you were wont to intercede in favour of the poor cooped-up inmates of ſome cloſely beleaguered town or fortreſs. But at leaſt the poor Indian can utter naught but bleſſings on you. He might have needed no other 'protector' had you lived: nor would ſlavery have found in his fate one of the darkeſt chapters in its hiſtory.

But we muſt away from Granada, and our fancies there, to San Salvador, the firſt land touched by Columbus. He is for the preſent moment all triumph. Our intereſt paſſes now from him to the new people we are amongſt. And what are they like? Are they worthy of the efforts we have made to ſee them? Is there mind and ſoul enough in them, for them to be made Chriſtians of? What ſays the greateſt of the men who firſt ſaw them? What impreſſion did they make on him? Let him anſwer for himſelf.

"Becauſe they had much friendſhip for us, and be-
"cauſe I knew they were people that would deliver
"themſelves better to the Chriſtian faith, and be con-
"verted more through love than by force; I gave to
"ſome of them ſome coloured caps and ſome ſtrings of
"glaſs beads for their necks, and many other things of
"little value, with which they were delighted, and were
"ſo entirely ours that it was a marvel to ſee. The
"ſame afterwards came ſwimming to the ſhips' boats
"where we were, and brought us parrots, cotton threads
"in balls, darts and many other things, and bartered
"them with us for things which we gave them, ſuch as
"bells and ſmall glaſs beads. In fine they took and
"gave all of whatever they had with good will. But
"it appeared to me they were a people very poor in
"everything. They went totally naked, as naked as
"their mothers brought them into the world."*

Then Columbus goes on to ſay they were well made, with very good faces, but hair like horſehair, their colour yellow; and that they painted themſelves. They neither carried arms nor underſtood ſuch things; for when he ſhowed them ſwords, they took hold of them by the blade and hurt themſelves. Their darts were without iron; but ſome had a fiſh's tooth at the end. In concluding his deſcription he ſays, "they ought to make

* Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 21.

Character of Indians.

" faithful ſervants and of good underſtanding, " for I ſee that very quickly they repeat all that " is ſaid to them; and I believe they would eaſily " be converted to Chriſtianity, for it appeared to " me that they had no creed."

A little further on, the Admiral ſays of the people of a neighbouring iſland, that they were more domeſtic and tractable than thoſe of San Salvador and Santa Maria, and cleverer too, as he ſaw in their way of reckoning for the payment of the cotton they brought to the ſhips. At the Rio de Mares ſome of the Admiral's men whom he had ſent to reconnoitre, bring him word that the houſes of the natives were the beſt they had ſeen. They were made like

" alfaneques, (pavilions) very large, and appeared as " royal tents without an arrangement of ſtreets, except " one here and there, and within they were very clean, " and well ſwept, and their fittings in good taſte. All " theſe houſes were made of palm branches and were " very beautiful. Our men found in theſe houſes many " ſtatues of women, and ſeveral caſts very well worked. " I do not know whether they have theſe for the love " of the beautiful or for purpoſes of worſhip."*

* Eran hechas á manera de alfaneques, muy grandes, y parecian tiendas en real ſin concierto de calles, ſino una acá y otra acullá, y de dentro muy barridas y limpias, y ſus aderezos muy

They found alſo excellent nets, fiſh-hooks and fiſhing tackle. There were tame birds, too, about the houſes, and dogs which did not bark. The Admiral, ſpeaking of the Indians, in another place ſays that they are "very gentle, without "knowing what evil is, neither killing nor ſteal-"ing."†

But we muſt reſume our hiſtory, and ſee what Columbus did and ſuffered in this firſt voyage of his. The firſt Indians he meets with have ſome few gold ornaments about them—poor wretches, if they could but have had the gift of prophecy, they would have thrown them into the nethermoſt ſea!—they are aſked whence comes this gold. From a race, they ſay, living ſouthwards, where there was a great king, who had much gold. On another occaſion, other Indians being aſked the ſame queſtion, anſwer, "Cubanacan, Cubanacan." They meant the middle of Cuba; but Columbus goes off immediately upon the idea that he is now upon the traces of his

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compueſtos. Todas ſon de ramas de palma muy hermoſas. Hallaron muchas eſtatuas en figura de mugeres, y muchas cabezas en manera de caratona muy bien labradas. No ſe ſi eſto tienen por hermoſura ó adoran en ellas.—*Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 42.

† Muy manſos, y ſin ſaber que ſea mal, ni matar á otros, ni prender.—*Navarrete*, vol. 1, p. 53.

long looked-for friend, the Grand Can. Indeed it is droll to ſee throughout, how Columbus is poſſeſſed with his old Marco Polo notions. He aſks for "his Cipango," as Herrera ſlyly puts it; the natives at once point out to him the direction where that is. They think he means Cibao, where afterwards the beſt mines of gold were found. The Admiral, bent on diſcovery, and eſpecially on getting to the terra firma, does not ſtay long anywhere. He diſcovers Cuba, and afterwards Hiſpaniola, and comes there to the country of King Guacanagari, where he is received moſt cordially.

It may be mentioned here, that Martin Alonzo Pinzon had wilfully parted company from the Admiral while on the coaſt of Cuba: unbridled covetouſneſs was probably the cauſe of this moſt undutiful proceeding. And we are now going to have another proof of the inſubordination of the mariners under Columbus, which makes us only wonder more how he could have got them acroſs the Atlantic at all. One evening the admiral, after paying a viſit to Guacanagari, ſeeing the ſea quite calm, betook himſelf to reſt. As he had not ſlept for two days and a night, it is probable his ſlumber was deep. Meanwhile the

ſteerſman, contrary to the diſtinct orders of the Admiral, gives the helm to a common ſailor, a youth. All of the ſailors go to ſleep. The ſea is as calm "as water in a diſh," ſays Columbus. Little by little the ſhip is drifted on to a ſhoal. Directly they touch, the ſailor-boy at the helm ſtarts from his dream, haply about his mother, and cries out: the Admiral jumps up firſt, (for the reſponſibility of command ſeldom goes quite to ſleep) then the officer whoſe watch it ought to have been, hurries up and the Admiral orders him to lower the boat which they carried on the poop and throw out an anchor aſtern. Inſtead of obeying the Admiral, this cowardly villain, with others like him, jumped into the boat and made off for the other veſſel, which was about half a league off. The other veſſel would not receive them and they rowed back again. But it was too late. The Admiral did what he could: he cut down the maſt, lightened the veſſel as beſt he might, took out his people and went with them to the other veſſel, ſending his boat to Guacanagari to tell of the misfortune. The good Guacanagari was moved to tears by this ſad affair. He not only gives ſympathy, however, but aſſiſtance. His people go out in canoes, and in a moment clear the veſſel of all the goods in it.

Columbus is ſhipwrecked.

Guacanagari is very careful that nothing ſhould be loſt. He himſelf ſtands guard over the things taken out of the ſhip. He ſends comforting meſſages to the Admiral, ſaying that he would give him what he had to make up for the loſs. He puts all the effects under ſhelter and places guards round them. The Admiral, as well he might be, is evidently touched to the heart by the kindneſs of theſe Indians. He goes on to ſay, "they are a loving, uncovetous people, ſo docile "in all things, that I aſſure your Highneſſes that "I believe in all the world there is not a better "people, or a better country: they love their "neighbours as themſelves, and they have the "ſweeteſt and gentleſt way of talking in the "world, and always with a ſmile."*

Character of the Indians.

The Admiral reſolves to found a colony in Guacanagari's land, "having found ſuch good will and ſuch ſigns of gold,"† Upon this our Spaniſh hiſtorian, Herrera, makes ſome curious reflections. He looks upon the loſs of the veſſel

* Son gente de amor y ſin cudicia, y convenibles para toda coſa, que certifico á vueſtras Altezas que en el mundo creo que no hay mejor gente ni mejor tierra: ellos aman á ſus prójimos como á sí miſmos, y tienen una habla la mas dulce del mundo, y manſa, y ſiempre con riſa—*Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 113.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 1, c. 18.

as providential, in order that the true faith might be preached in that country. Then he ſays how Providence not only cauſes his work to be done on high motives, but alſo on the ordinary ones which influence mankind. Then he concludes by ſaying that Providence dealt with the Spaniards and the Indians as a prudent father who has an ugly daughter, but makes up for her uglineſs by the help of a good dowry. By the uglineſs in this caſe he means the ſeas to be traverſed, the hunger to be endured, and the labours to be undertaken, which he conſiders no other nation but the Spaniards would have encountered, even with the hope of greater booty. There we may venture to differ from him.

Columbus builds a fort and calls it La Navidad becauſe he entered the port near there on Chriſtmas-day. He remains on very friendly terms with the good cacique Guacanagari; and might have eſtabliſhed himſelf very comfortably in that part of the country, if he could have been content to be a ſettler. But from the firſt moment of his diſcovery, he, doubtleſs, had an anxious deſire to get back to Spain and tell what he knew; and at times, perhaps, was fearful leſt his great ſecret, through ſome miſchance to the

Columbus builds a fort.

expedition, ſhould ſtill periſh with him. Our great diſcoverer muſt now, therefore, think about returning homewards. He mans his fort with thirty-nine men, commends his people to Guacanagari, gives them excellent advice—to do no violence to man or woman, and, in ſhort, to make their actions conformable to the idea (which the Indians firſt entertained of them) that they had come from heaven—then, having received the neceſſary proviſions for his veſſel from Guacanagari, the Admiral ſets ſail for Spain the fourth of January, 1493.

CHAPTER IV.

Administration of Columbus in the Indies.

AS we are not inveſtigating the life of Columbus, we need not go into any of the minor diſcoveries which he made after leaving La Navidad, or the troubles and difficulties he had on his voyage homewards; or his reception at Liſbon, where he was obliged to take refuge from a ſtorm, and where, diſplaying the ſigns of a new world at a court which had refuſed the diſcovery, muſt have been almoſt too much of a triumph for a generous mind. Suffice it to ſay, that he arrived at Palos, the port he had ſet out from, on the 15th March, 1493, and forthwith commenced his journey to Barcelona where the court then was. Herrera tells us that the Admiral now "entered into the greateſt reputa-" tion," and the hiſtorian goes on to explain to his readers what the meaning of "reputation" is. It does not conſiſt, he tells us, in ſucceſs, 1493.

but in doing ſomething which cannot be eaſily comprehended, which compels men to think over and over again upon it.* And certainly, this definition makes the word particularly applicable to the achievement of Columbus.

The Court welcomes back Columbus.

The court prepared a ſolemn reception for the Admiral at Barcelona where, as we are told, the people poured out in ſuch numbers that the ſtreets could not contain them. A triumphal proceſſion like his the world had not ſeen: it was a thing to make the moſt incurious alert, and even the ſad and ſolitary ſtudent content to come out and mingle with the mob. The captives that went before a Roman general's car might be ſtrange barbarians, of a tribe from which Rome had not yet had ſlaves. But barbarians were not unknown creatures. Here, with Columbus, were beings of a new world. Imagine the rumours that muſt have gone before his coming. And now he is here. Ferdinand and Iſabella have their thrones placed in the preſence of the aſſembled multitude. Columbus approaches, with a face full of modeſt ſmiles, ("*modeſta riſa*,") kneels at the King's feet, and begs to kiſs their Highneſſes' hands. They give their hands; then they bid him riſe and be

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3.

ſeated before them. He recounts, briefly, the events of his voyage—a ſtory more intereſting than the tale told by Æneas in Dido's court—and he concludes by ſhowing what new things and creatures he has brought.

Ferdinand and Iſabella fall on their knees, giving thanks to God with many tears; and the choriſters of the royal chapel cloſe the grand ceremonial by ſinging the Te Deum. Afterwards men walk home grave and yet happy, having ſeen the ſymbol of a great work: ſomething to be thought over for many an age.

Other marks of approbation for Columbus are not wanting. The agreement between him and Los Reyes, (Ferdinand and Iſabella may as well be, henceforth, called by us Los Reyes, as they are in the hiſtories of that time) is confirmed. He gets a coat of arms, then a thing of ſome meaning and ſubſtance. He rides by the king's ſide; is ſerved at table as a Grandee; "all hail" is ſaid to him on ſtate occaſions: and the men of his age, happy in that, have found out another great man to honour.

The more proſaic part of the buſineſs has now to be attended to. Los Reyes apply to the pope, Alexander the 6th, to confer on the Crowns of

Caſtile and Leon the lands diſcovered and to be diſcovered. They ſoon receive a favourable anſwer. The pope grants to the princes of Caſtile and Leon, and to their ſucceſſors, the ſovereign empire and principality of the Indies, and of the navigation there, with high and royal juriſdiction and imperial dignity and lordſhip over all that hemiſphere. To preſerve the peace between Spain and Portugal, the pontiff divides the Spaniſh and Portugueſe Indian ſovereignties, by an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the weſt of the Azores and the Cape de Verde iſlands.

The Pope grants the Indies to Caſtile, May, 1493.

Meanwhile, the preparations for the Admiral's ſecond voyage are going on. After the arrival of the apoſtolic bulls, and before the departure of Columbus from Barcelona, the nine Indians brought by him were baptized. Here, parenthetically, we may take note of ſomething which, did the fact correſpond with what the Spaniards thought, would indeed be notable. One of the Indians, after being baptized, dies; and is, we are told, the firſt of that nation, according to pious belief, who entered heaven.*

Indians are baptized.

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* Y porque ellos miſmos pidieron el bautiſmo, quiſieron los Reyes ofrecer a nueſtro Señor las primicias deſta gentilidad, y fueron padrinos, el Rey y el Principe don Juan ſu hijo: el qual

We cannot help thinking of good Guacanagari, and imagining, that if his race had been like him, ſome one might already have reached the regions of the bleſſed. I do not however refer to this paſſage of Herrera for its ſingularity, but becauſe it brings before us again the profound import attached to baptiſm in thoſe times, and may help to account, as has been noticed before, for many ſeeming inconſiſtences in the conduct of the Spaniards to the Indians.

In the conduct, however, of Los Reyes towards the Indians, there is nothing equivocal; but all ſhows tenderneſs and religious care in theſe monarchs for their new ſubjects. The inſtructions which Columbus carries out in his ſecond voyage, dated the 29th May, 1493, are the firſt ſtrokes upon that obdurate maſs of Colonial difficulty which at laſt by inceſſant working of great Princes, great Churchmen and great ſtateſmen, is eventually to be hammered into ſome righteous form of wiſdom and of mercy. The following are part of theſe inſtructions. They charge the Admiral by all poſſible ways to labour to bring the dwellers in 1493.

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quiſo, que uno de los Indios quedaſſe en ſu caſa en ſu ſeruicio, que no mucho deſpues murió, que ſegun piadoſamente ſe deve creer, fue el primero que deſta nacion entró en el cielo.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 5.

the Indies to a knowledge of the ſacred Catholic Faith. And that this may the eaſier be done, all the armada is to be charged to deal lovingly (*amoroſamente*) with the Indians. The Admiral is to give them things and honour them much (*i los honre mucho*). And if by chance any perſon or perſons ſhould treat the Indians ill, in any manner whatever, the Admiral is to chaſtiſe ſuch ill doers ſeverely.* Their highneſſes alſo ſent out Father Buil, and other eccleſiaſtics to ſuperintend the religious education of the Indians.

With theſe inſtructions, Columbus ſets ſail the 25th of September, 1493, having with him 17 veſſels and 1500 men. After making various diſcoveries, which we need not trouble ourſelves about, the Admiral arrives at Hiſpaniola, and finds his little colony at La Navidad entirely deſtroyed. The account of this which Guacanagari gives to Columbus, and which I ſee no reaſon for doubting, is that the Spaniards who had been left at La Navidad, took to evil courſes, quarrelled amongſt themſelves, ſtraggled about the country, and finally were ſet upon when weak and few in numbers, by a neighbouring Indian chief, named Caonabó, who burned the tower and diſperſed or

Deſtruction of La Navidad.

* Navarrete, Coleccion Diplomatica, Num. XLV.

killed the Spaniards. None were ever found. Columbus builds another fort at another part of the iſland, and calls his new colony Iſabella. He hears of the mines of Cibao and ſends to reconnoitre them: the Indians, little foreſeeing what is to come of it, give gold to the Spaniſh meſſengers who return with good ſigns of ſucceſs. Columbus reſolves to found a colony at Cibao.

At this period, January, 1494, Columbus ſends home an account of the ſtate of his colony. It is in the form of inſtructions to Antonio de Torres, the Receiver of the colony, who is to go and ſay to Los Reyes ſuch things as are written in theſe inſtructions, and doubtleſs to elucidate them by diſcourſe; as in the preſent day, we ſend a deſpatch to be read by an ambaſſador to the foreign miniſter of the power we are treating with. There remains a copy made at the time of this document, and of the notes in the margin containing the reſolutions of Los Reyes. The original thus noted was taken back to Columbus. It is a moſt valuable document, very illuſtrative of the cautious and wiſe dealing of the Catholic Sovereigns. 1494.

Inſtructions to Antonio de Torres.

The document begins with the proper reſpectful compliments. "*Their Highneſſes hold it for* "*good ſervice*" is the marginal remark.

The next paragraph conſiſts of a general ſtatement about what has been diſcovered. "*Their "Highneſſes give much thanks to God, and hold as "very honoured ſervice all that the Admiral has "done, &c.*"

Then follow the Admiral's reaſons why he has not been able to ſend home more gold. His people have been ill; it was neceſſary to keep guard, &c. "*He has done well*" is in the margin. Then come more reaſons—more approbation in the margin.

He ſuggeſts the building a fortreſs near the place where gold can be got. Their Highneſſes approve; and the note in the margin is, "*This "is well and ſo it muſt be done.*"

Then comes a paragraph about proviſions, and a marginal order from Los Reyes "*that Juan de "Fonſeca is to provide for that matter.*"

Again there comes another paragraph about proviſions, complaining amongſt other things, that the caſks in which the wine for the Armada had been put, were leaky. Their Highneſſes make an order in the margin, "*that Juan de Fonſeca "is to find out the perſons who played this cheat "with the wine-caſks, and to make good from their "pockets the loſs, and to ſee that the canes*" (ſugar canes for planting I ſuppoſe) "*are good and that*

" *all that is here aſked for, ſhould be provided* " *immediately.*"

So far nothing can run more pleaſantly with the main document than the notes in the margin. Columbus now touches upon a matter which intimately concerns our ſubject. He deſires Antonio de Torres to inform their Highneſſes that he has ſent home ſome Indians from the Cannibal iſlands as ſlaves, to be taught Caſtilian, and to ſerve afterwards as interpreters, ſo that the work of converſion may go on. His arguments in ſupport of this proceeding are weighty. He ſpeaks of the good that it will be to take theſe people away from Cannibaliſm, and to have them baptized, that ſo they will gain their ſouls, as he expreſſes it. Then, too, with regard to the other Indians, he ſays, we ſhall have great credit from them ſeeing that we can capture and make ſlaves of theſe Cannibals of whom they, the peaceable Indians, entertain ſo great a fear. Such arguments muſt be allowed to have much force in them; and it may be queſtioned whether many of thoſe perſons who are, in theſe days, the ſtrongeſt opponents of ſlavery, would then have had that perception of the impending danger of it which Los Reyes appear to have entertained, from their anſwer to this part of the document. " *This is very well, and ſo*

" *it muſt be done; but let the Admiral ſee whe-*
" *ther it could not be managed there,*" (i. e. in the Cannibal iſlands) " *that they ſhould be brought*
" *to our ſacred Catholic Faith, and the ſame thing*
" *with the Indians of thoſe iſlands where he is.*"

The Admiral's deſpatch in the next paragraph goes much further; he boldly ſuggeſts that for the advantage of the ſouls of theſe Cannibal Indians, the more of them that could be taken, the better; and that conſidering what quantities of live ſtock and other things were neceſſary for the maintenance of the Colony, a certain number of caravels ſhould be ſent each year with theſe neceſſary things, and the cargoes be paid for in ſlaves taken from amongſt the Cannibals.* He touches again on the good that will be done to the Cannibals themſelves; alludes to the Cuſtoms duties that their Highneſſes may levy upon them; and concludes by deſiring Antonio de Torres to ſend, or bring, an anſwer, " becauſe the prepara-
" tions here" (for capturing theſe cannibals) "may
" be made with more confidence, if the ſcheme
" ſeem good to their Highneſſes."

A more diſtinct propoſition for the eſtabliſh-

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* Las cuales coſas ſe les podrian pagar en eſclavos de eſtos canibales. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 232.

ment of a ſlave trade was never made, though we muſt do Columbus the juſtice to believe that his motives were right in his own eyes. To their honour Los Reyes thus replied, "*As regards* "*this matter, it is ſuſpended for the preſent until* "*there come ſome other way of doing it there, and* "*let the Admiral write what he thinks of this.*"*

This is rather a confuſed anſwer, as often happens, when a propoſition from a valued friend or ſervant, is diſapproved of, but has to be rejected kindly. Los Reyes would be very glad to have ſome money: money was always welcome to Ferdinand: the paying for wine, ſeeds, and cattle for the coloniſts was anything but agreeable: the proſpect of converſion was probably dear to the hearts of both of theſe Princes, certainly to one of them: but ſtill this propoſition for the eſtabment of ſlavery was wiſely and magnanimouſly ſet aſide.

While Antonio de Torres has been abſent laying theſe things before Los Reyes, Columbus has been buſy about the affairs of the colony, which are in a moſt diſtracted ſtate. The number of men

* En eſte ſe ha ſuſpendido por agora haſta que venga otro camino de allá, y eſcriba el Almirante lo que en eſto le pareſciere. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 233.

which the Admiral brought out with him was diſproportioned to his means of ſuſtaining them. Proviſions and medicines began to fail; ſickneſs pervaded the whole armament; and men of all ranks and ſtations, hidalgoes, people of the court and eccleſiaſtics, were all obliged to work manually under regulations ſtrictly enforced. The rage and vexation of theſe men, many of whom had come out with the notion of finding gold ready for them on the ſea ſhore, may be imagined; and complaints of Columbus's harſh way of dealing with thoſe under him (probably not one whit harſher than was abſolutely neceſſary to ſave them) now took their riſe and purſued him ever after to his ruin. The coloniſts were ſomewhat cheered at this time by hearing of gold mines and ſeeing ſpecimens of ore brought from thence; and the Admiral went himſelf and founded the Fort of St. Thomas in the mining diſtrict of Cibao. But the Spaniſh coloniſts gained very little real advantage from theſe gold mines, which they began working at before they had conſolidated around them the means of living: in fact dealing with the mines in Hiſpaniola, as if they had been found out in an old country and that there was nothing to do but to work them.

Folly in working mines too ſoon.

There was alſo another idea and perhaps quite

as miſchievous a one, which ſtood in the way of the ſteady improvement of theſe early Spaniſh colonies. The Catholic Sovereigns had unfortunately impreſſed upon Columbus their wiſh that he ſhould devote himſelf to further diſcovery, a wiſh but too readily furthered by his enterprizing ſpirit. The hankering of Los Reyes for further diſcovery was foſtered by their jealouſy of the Portugueſe. The Portugueſe were diſcovering India, going eaſtward. They, the Spaniards, thought they were diſcovering India, going weſtward. The more rapidly, therefore, each nation could advance and plant its ſtandard, the more of much-coveted India it would be able to claim. Acting upon ſuch views, Columbus now goes upon further diſcovery, notwithſtanding his little colonies at Iſabella and St. Thomas muſt have needed all his authority and ſagacity to protect and reſtrain them. He nominates a council to manage the government during his abſence, with his brother Don Diego as Preſident of it; he appoints Don Pedro Margarite Captain-General; and then puts to ſea, the 24th April, 1494.

Rage for further diſcovery.

In the courſe of the voyage that then enſued, the Admiral made many important diſcoveries, amongſt them Cuba, Jamaica, and the cluſter of little iſlands called the "Garden of the Queen."

Cuba and Jamaica diſcovered 1494.

The navigation amongſt theſe iſlands was ſo difficult, that the Admiral is ſaid to have been thirty two days without ſleeping. Certain it is, that after he had left the iſland called La Mona, and when he was approaching the iſland of San Juan, a drowſineſs which Las Caſas calls "peſtilential," but which might be juſt as well attributed to the privations, cares, and anxieties that the Admiral had now undergone for many months, ſeized upon him and entirely deprived him of the uſe of his ſenſes.*

His object in going to San Juan was to have captured Cannibals there; and Las Caſas looks upon this lethargical attack as a judgment upon the Admiral for ſo unjuſt a manner of endeavouring to introduce Chriſtianity. The mariners turned the fleet homewards to Iſabella where they arrived the 29th September, 1494, bearing with them their helpleſs chief.

On Columbus's arrival at Iſabella, where he remained ill for five months, he found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, which gladdened him much: for his brothers were very near and dear

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* Le dió una modorra peſtilencial, que totalmente le quitó el uſo de los ſentidos, y todas las fuerzas, y quedo muerto, y no penſaron que un dia durara. *Las Caſas. Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS.* lib. 1, cap. 99.

to him; and I recollect that on ſome occaſion he tells his eldeſt ſon Diego to make much of his brother Ferdinand; for, ſays he, I have never found better friends, "on my right hand and on "my left," than my brothers. Afterwards came Antonio de Torres with proviſions and all things needful. But nothing, we are told, delighted the Admiral ſo much as the deſpatches from the Court: for he was a faithful, loyal man, who loved to do his duty to thoſe who employed him, and to have his faithfulneſs recogniſed. Peace or delight, however, was not at any time to be long enjoyed by the Admiral, for he finds his colony in a ſad ſtate of diſorganization, the Indians in arms againſt the Spaniards, and Father Buil, Don Pedro Margarite and other principal perſons gone home to Spain in the ſhips which had brought Bartholomew Columbus.

The Admiral, before his departure, had given a moſt injudicious command to Margarite to put himſelf at the head of 400 men and go through the Country, with the double object of impreſſing the natives with reſpect for the power of the Spaniards and of freeing the colony from ſupporting theſe 400 men. Columbus's inſtructions to Margarite were, to obſerve the people and the natural productions of the country through

which he ſhould paſs: to keep the troop in three diviſions, to do rigorous juſtice in order to prevent the Spaniards from injuring the Indians, or the Indians the Spaniards, to treat the Indians kindly, to get proviſions by purchaſe if poſſible, if not, by any other means they could, and to capture Caonabó and his brothers either by force or artifice.*

The doings of the men under Margarite were ſimilar to thoſe of the Spaniards formerly left at La Navidad. They went ſtraggling over the country; they conſumed the proviſions of the poor Indians, aſtoniſhing them by their voracious appetites; waſte, rapine, injury and inſult followed in their ſteps; and from henceforth there is but little hope of the two races living peaceably together, at leaſt upon equal terms. The Indians were now ſwarming about the Spaniards with hoſtile intent; as Muñoz well ſays "they had "paſſed from terror to deſpair:"† and but for the opportune arrival of the Admiral, the Spaniſh

* Munoz. Hiſt. del. Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 5, cap. 10.

† Crecen las inſolencias haſta el punto de hacerſe intolerables á los vecinos de la Vega. Los ſoldados, ſin cabeza que los adune y contenga, corren divididos por varias partes, entregándoſe á quanto les dicta la neceſidad, la paſion, y el antojo. Canſados de ſufrir los miſerables Indios paſan del terror á la deſeſperacion. Muñoz. Hiſt. del. Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 5, ſec. 25.

ſettlements in Hiſpaniola might again have been entirely ſwept away.

Caonabó, the Cacique who in former days had put to death the garriſon at La Navidad, was now threatening that of St. Thomas, a fort which the Admiral had cauſed to be built in the mining diſtrict of Cibao. Guatiguaná, the Cacique of Macorix, who had killed eight Spaniſh ſoldiers and ſet fire to a houſe where there were forty ill, was now within two days' march of Iſabella, beſieging the fort Magdalena. Columbus ſtarted up forthwith, went off to Magdalena, did battle with the Indians and routed them utterly. He took a large part of them for ſlaves, and reduced to obedience the whole of the province of Macorix. Returning to Iſabella, he ſent back, the 24th February, 1495, the four ſhips which Antonio de Torres had brought out, chiefly laden with Indian ſlaves. It is rather remarkable that the very ſhips which brought that admirable reply of Los Reyes to Columbus, begging him to ſeek ſome other way to Chriſtianity than through ſlavery, even for wild man-eating Caribs, ſhould come back full of ſlaves taken from amongſt the mild iſlanders of Hiſpaniola.

First battle of Columbus with the Indians.

Caonabó, not daunted by the fate of Guatiguaná,

ſtill continued to moleſt St. Thomas. The Admiral accordingly ſallied out with two hundred men againſt this Cacique. On the broad plains of the Vega Real the Spaniards found an immenſe number of Indians collected together, amounting, it is ſaid, to one hundred thouſand men. The Admiral divided his forces into two bands, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, and leading the other himſelf: and when the brothers made an attack upon the Indians at the ſame time from different quarters, this numerous hoſt was at once and utterly put to flight. In ſpeaking of ſuch a defeat, we muſt not be laviſh of the words "cowardly," "puſillanimous," and the like, till we have well conſidered what it is to expoſe naked bodies to fire-arms, to the charge of ſteel-clad men on horſeback, and fierce dogs. A "horrible carnage" enſued upon the flight of the Indians. Many were taken alive and condemned to ſlavery.* Caonabó, however, who was beſieging the fortreſs of St. Thomas at the time of the battle on the Vega Real, remained untaken. The Admiral reſolved to get hold of this Cacique by treachery; and ſent Ojeda to coax

* Muñoz. Hiſt. del. Nuevo-Mundo. lib. 5, cap. 27.

Caonabó to come to a friendly meeting. There are ſome curious inſtructions of Columbus's to Margarite in 1494,* reſpecting a plot to take this formidable Caonabó. They are as thoroughly baſe and treacherous as can well be imagined. This time they were completely ſucceſsful. The ſtory which was current in the Colonies, of the manner in which Ojeda captured the reſolute Indian Chief, is this. Ojeda carried with him gyves and manacles, the latter of the kind called by the Spaniards ſomewhat irreverently *eſpoſas* (wives), and all made of braſs finely wrought and highly poliſhed. The metals of Spain were prized by the Indians in the ſame way that the gold of the Indies was by the Spaniards. Moreover, amongſt the Indians, there was a ſtrange rumour of talking braſs, which was nothing more than the Church-bell at Iſabella which, ſummoning the Spaniards to maſs, was thought by the ſimple Indians to converſe with them. When, therefore, Ojeda brought theſe ornaments to Caonabó and told him they were made of braſs of Biſcay, and that they were a great preſent from the Admiral, and that he would ſhow him how to put them on,

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. Núm. LXXII.

and that when they were put on, Caonabó ſhould ſet himſelf on Ojeda's horſe and be ſhown to his admiring ſubjects, as Ojeda ſaid, the kings of Spain were wont to ſhow themſelves to theirs; the incautious Indian is ſaid to have fallen entirely into the trap. Going with Ojeda, accompanied by only a ſmall eſcort, to a river a ſhort diſtance from his main encampment, Caonabó, after performing ablutions, ſuffered the crafty young Spaniard to put the fetters on him and to ſet him upon the horſe. Ojeda himſelf got up behind the Indian prince, and then whirling a few times round, like a pigeon before it takes its determined flight, making the followers of Caonabó imagine that this was but diſplay, they all the while keeping at a reſpectful diſtance from the horſe, an animal they much dreaded, Ojeda darted off for Iſabella; and after great fatigues, now keeping to the main track, now traverſing the mountain paths in order to evade purſuit, brought Caonabó bound into the preſence of Columbus. The unfortunate Cacique was ſent to Spain to be judged there; and his forces were afterwards put to flight by a troop of Spaniards under the command of this ſame Ojeda. Some were killed; ſome taken priſoners; ſome fled to the mountains; ſome yielded "offering themſelves to the ſervice

Caonabó is captured.

" of the Chriſtians if they would allow them to " live in their own ways."*

Never, perhaps, were little ſkirmiſhes, for ſuch they were, on the part of the Spaniards, of greater permanent importance than thoſe we have juſt been reading of, which took place in the early part of the year 1495. They muſt be looked upon as the origin in the Indies of ſlavery, vaſſalage, and the ſyſtem of *repartimientos*. We have ſeen that the Admiral after his firſt victory ſent off four ſhips with ſlaves to Spain. He now took occaſion to impoſe a tribute upon the whole population of Hiſpaniola. Thoſe Indians above 14 years old, who were in, or near to, the provinces of the Mines, were to pay every three months a little bell-full of gold; all other perſons in the iſland were, each, to pay at the ſame time an arroba of cotton. Certain braſs or copper tokens were made—different ones for each tribute time—and were given to the Indians as they paid tribute; and theſe tokens being worn about their necks were to ſhew who had paid tribute.† A remarkable propoſal was made upon

1495.

Tribute impoſed upon the Indians of Hiſpaniola.

* Ofreciéndoſe al ſervicio de los chriſtianos ſi les permiten vivir en ſu naturaleza. *Muñoz. Hiſt. del Nuevo Mundo*, lib. 5, cap. 29.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 17.

this occaſion to the Admiral by Guarionéx, Cacique of the Vega Real, namely that he would make a huge farm for the manufacture of bread, ſtretching from Iſabella to St. Domingo (i. e. from ſea to ſea) which would ſuffice to maintain all Caſtile with bread. The Cacique would do this on condition that his vaſſals were not to pay tribute in gold, for they did not know how to collect that. But this propoſal was not accepted, as Columbus wiſhed to have tribute in ſuch things as he could ſend over to Spain.*

This tribute is ſaid to have been a moſt unreaſonable one in point of amount; † and Columbus was obliged to modify his demands upon theſe poor Indians, and in ſome inſtances to change the nature of them, for we find that in 1496, ſervice inſtead of tribute was demanded of certain Indian villages: as they were ordered to make the farms

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* Ofreció Guarionex Rey de la gran Vega Real al Almirante que le haria una labrança de pan, que llegaſſe deſde la Yſabela haſta ſanto Domingo, que es de mar a mar, y ay buenas cinquenta y cinco leguas de camino, con lo qual baſtaria a mãtener de pan a toda Caſtilla, con que no le pidieſſe oro, porque ſus vaſſalos no lo ſabian coger, pero como el Almirante era foraſtero, ſolo y desfauorecido de los miniſtros de los Reyes Catolicos, y como prudẽte conocia, que lo que le auia de conſeruar, eran las riquezas que embiaſſe, dauaſe priſſa por el oro. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 17.

† Contribucion duríſima, y ordenada con ſuma ligereza. *Muñoz*, lib. 5, cap. 30.

in the Spaniſh ſettlements*—which may be conſidered as the beginning of the ſyſtem of *repartimientos*, or *encomiendas* as they were afterwards called.

We muſt not, however, ſuppoſe that Indian ſlavery would not have taken place even if theſe upriſings and defeats of the Indians in the courſe of the year 1495 had never occurred. Very early indeed we ſee what the views of Columbus were with regard to the Indians. In the diary which he kept of his firſt voyage, on the 14th of October, three days after diſcovering the New World, he deſcribes a poſition which he thinks would be a very good one for a fort; and he goes on to ſay, "I do not think that it (the fort) "will be neceſſary, for this people is very ſimple "in the uſe of arms (as your Highneſſes will ſee "from ſeven of them that I have taken in order "to bring them to you, to learn our language "and afterwards to take them back) ſo that when

* Antes que ſe fueſſe a Caſtilla el Almirante, el año de. 1496. por el mes de Março o poco deſpues de partido, en lugar de los tributos ſe impuſo a algunos pueblos, que tuuieſſen cuydado de hazer las labranças de las poblaciones de los Caſtellanos, a imitacion de lo que vſauan con ſus Caziques. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 13.

" your Highneſſes command, you can have them " all taken to Caſtile or kept in the iſland as cap- " tives."*

Columbus was not an avaricious nor a cruel man; and certainly a very pious one; but he had been brought up on the coaſt of Africa, and was accuſtomed to a ſlave trade. Moreover he was anxious to reduce the expenſes of theſe Indian poſſeſſions to the Catholic Sovereigns, to prove himſelf in the right as to all he had ſaid reſpecting the advantages that would flow to Spain from the Indies, and to confute his enemies at Court.

We ſhall naturally be curious to know how the news of theſe veſſels laden with ſlaves, the fruit of the Admiral's firſt victory over the Indians, was received by Los Reyes, recollecting how tender they had been about ſlavery before. This is a very different caſe though from the former. Here are people taken in what would be called rebellion—priſoners of war. Still we muſt be glad to find that Ferdinand and Iſabella are heedful in their proceedings in this matter. There is a letter of theirs to Biſhop Fonſeca, who ſtill managed Indian affairs, telling him to withhold receiving the money for the ſale of theſe Indians

* Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 24.

that Torres had brought with him, until their Highneſſes ſhould be able to inform themſelves from men learned in the law, theologians and canoniſts, whether with a good conſcience theſe Indians could be ordered to be ſold or not.* The hiſtorian, Muñoz, ſays that he does not find that the point was decided; and if he has failed, we are not likely to diſcover any direct evidence about the deciſion. We ſhall hereafter, however, find ſomething which may enable us to conjecture what the deciſion had practically come to be.

The ſo-called free Indians in Hiſpaniola had many of them perhaps even a worſe fate than their brethren condemned to ſlavery. Seeing the Spaniards quietly ſettling down there, building houſes, and making forts, and no veſſels in the harbour of Iſabella to take them away, the profoundeſt ſadneſs fell upon the Indians, and they bethought them of the deſperate remedy of attempting to ſtarve the Spaniards out, by not ſowing or planting anything. But this is a ſhallow device when undertaken on the part of the greater number, in any country, againſt the ſmaller. The ſcheme reacted upon themſelves. They had intended to gain a

* Porque Nos queriamos informarnos de letrados, Teologos e Canoniſtas, ſi con buena conciencia ſe pueden vender eſtos por ſolo vos ó no. *Navarrete*, Col. Dip. Doc. Núm. XCII.

ſecure though ſcanty ſuſtenance in the hills; but though the Spaniards ſuffered bitterly from famine, they were only driven by it to further purſuit and moleſtation of the Indians who died then in great numbers of hunger, ſickneſs, and miſery.

Commiſſioner of enquiry ſent to the Indies.

About this period there arrived in the Indies from the Court of Spain a Commiſſioner of enquiry (*Juez peſquiſidor*) his miſſion being doubtleſs occaſioned by the various complaints made againſt the Admiral by Father Buil, Margarite, and the Spaniards who had returned from Hiſpaniola. The name of this Commiſſioner was Juan Aguado and his powers were vouched for by the following letter from Los Reyes.

"THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

"*Cavaliers, Eſquires and other perſons who by*
"*our command are in the Indies: we ſend you*
"*there Juan Aguado our Steward, who will ſpeak*
"*to you on our part: we command that you give*
"*him faith and credence.*

"*I the King: I the Queen.*

"*By command of the King and Queen, our Lords.*

"HERNAND ALVAREZ.

"*Madrid the ninth of April, one thouſand four*
"*hundred and ninety five.*"

Juan Aguado arrived at Iſabella in October 1495, and his proceedings there, together with the fear of what he might report on his return, quickened the Admiral's deſire to return to Court that he might fight his own battles there, himſelf. Leaving, therefore, his brother Bartholomew as Lieutenant Governor, (*Adelantado*) the Admiral left Iſabella on the 10th of March, 1496, and anchored in the Bay of Cadiz the 11th of June in that year. He proceeded to Burgos, where the Court then was, and appears to have been well received by Ferdinand and Iſabella; and to have made his caſe good againſt all his maligners. It was long, however, before he was able to return to Hiſpaniola with ſuch an armament as he required. Meanwhile, about ten months after his arrival, he managed to ſend out two ſhips under Peter Fernandez Coronel with ſuch things as were neceſſary for the colony. The Admiral himſelf did not leave Spain again until May, 1498.

1496.

Columbus returns to Spain.

During the two years that elapſed from the Admiral's leaving Hiſpaniola in 1496 to his return there in 1498, many things happened on both ſides of the Atlantic, which need recording. In 1496 we find, according to Herrera, that three ſhips

arrived at Hiſpaniola, in which Don Bartholomew Columbus ſent three hundred ſlaves back. We are told that he had informed Los Reyes that certain Caciques were killing the Caſtilians, and that their Highneſſes had given orders in reply, that all thoſe who ſhould be found guilty ſhould be ſent to Spain. If this meant the common Indians as well as the Caciques, then it ſeems probable that the queſtion about ſelling them with a ſafe conſcience was already decided.

1497. In 1497, two very injudicious edicts were publiſhed by Los Reyes upon the advice, as we are told, of Columbus; one authorizing the Judges to tranſport criminals to the Indies; the other giving an indulgence to all thoſe who had committed any crime (with certain exceptions in which hereſy, lèſe majeſté and treaſon find a place) to go out at their own expenſe to Hiſpaniola and to ſerve for a certain time under the orders of the Admiral.* We cannot wonder that three years after, we find the Admiral ſaying in his moſt emphatic manner, " I ſwear that numbers " of men have gone to the Indies who did not

Criminals encouraged to go to the Indies.

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. Núm. CXVI. and CXX.

" deſerve water from God or man."* It is but fair however to mention, that Las Caſas, ſpeaking of the coloniſts who went out under theſe conditions, ſays, " I have known ſome of them in " theſe iſlands, even of thoſe who had loſt their " ears, whom I always found ſufficiently honeſt " men."

In 1497, we have letters patent from Los Reyes to the Admiral, authorizing him to grant *repartimientos* of the lands in the Indies to the Spaniards. And it is noticeable that in this document there is no mention of Indians, ſo that they had not come to form portion of a *repartimiento* at this period. It is a formal legal document, very much after the ſtyle of thoſe of the preſent day, by which the fortunate Spaniard who gets the land is " to have, and to hold, and to poſſeſs" and ſo forth; (*haya e tenga e poſea*) and is enabled " to ſell and " to give and to preſent and to traffic with and " to exchange and to pledge and to alienate and " to do with it and in it all that he likes or may " think good."† 1497.

Repartimientos of lands in the Indies.

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* " Fago juramento que cantitad de hombres han ido á las " Indias que no mereſcian el agua para con Dios y con el mundo." *Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 271.

† Muñoz mentions that to facilitate emigration to the Indies,

While the things above mentioned were being tranſacted at the Court of Spain, Don Bartholomew Columbus was doing much in Hiſpaniola that led to very ſerious reſults.

Before the Admiral left the iſland he had diſcovered ſome mines to the ſouthward, and had thought of chooſing ſome port in their vicinity where he might eſtabliſh a colony. He had ſpoken about this in his letters to Los Reyes. As he entered the Bay of Cadiz on his return, he met ſome veſſels there, which were bound for Hiſpaniola, and which contained letters from their Highneſſes approving of his ſuggeſtion. By theſe ſhips, therefore, he ſent orders to his brother to make this ſouthern ſettlement; and the Adelantado, accordingly, proceeded ſouthwards and fixed upon a port at the entrance of the river Ozama. He ſent for artiſans from Iſabella and commenced building a fortreſs which he called St. Domingo, and which afterwards became the chief place of the iſland.

St. Domingo founded.

There was one part of Hiſpaniola into which the Spaniards had not yet penetrated; it was called

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the perpetual poſſeſſion of the houſes which they ſhould build and the lands they ſhould cultivate had been offered to the Spaniards in 1495. *Muñoz, Hiſt. del. Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 5, cap. 33.

Xaragua, and was reigned over by a Cacique named Bohechio, whoſe ſiſter Anacaona, the wife of Caonabó, ſeems alſo to have had much authority in thoſe parts. The Adelantado, after ſeeing the works of St. Domingo commenced, reſolved to enter the kingdom of Xaragua, whither he proceeded at the head of 100 men. Arriving at the river Neyba, he found an immenſe army of Indians drawn up there to oppoſe his progreſs. Don Bartholomew, however, made ſigns to them that his errand was peaceful; and the good natured Indians accepting his proffers of amity, he was conducted ſome 30 leagues further to the city of Xaragua, where he was received with proceſſions of dancing and ſinging women, and feaſted magnificently. After having been well entertained by theſe Indians, the Adelantado proceeded to buſineſs, and in plain terms demanded tribute of them. Bohechio pleaded that there was no gold in his dominions, to which the Adelantado replied, that he did not wiſh to impoſe tribute upon any people except of the natural productions to be found in their country. And it was finally ſettled that Bohechio ſhould pay tribute in cotton and Cazabi-bread. He acceded to this agreement very willingly; and the Adelantado and this Cacique parted on the moſt friendly terms.

Cacique of Xaragua agrees to pay tribute.

Don Bartholomew then returned to Iſabella where he found that about 300 men had died from diſeaſe, and that there was great dearth of proviſions. He diſtributed the ſick men in his fortreſſes and in the adjacent Indian villages, and afterwards ſet out on a journey to his new fort of St. Domingo, collecting tribute by the way. In all theſe rapid and energetic proceedings of the Adelantado, and ſtill more from cauſes over which he had no control, the Spaniards muſt have ſuffered much, and doubtleſs thoſe complaints on their part which were ſoon to break out very menacingly, were not unheard at the preſent time.

If the Spaniards, however, complained of the labours which Don Bartholomew impoſed upon them, the Indians complained ſtill more, and far more juſtly, of the tribute impoſed upon them. Several of the minor chiefs, upon this occaſion of collecting tribute, complained to the great Cacique Guarionex, and ſuggeſted a riſing of the Indians. This Cacique ſeems to have been a peaceful, prudent man, and well aware of the power of the Spaniards. But he now conſented to place himſelf at the head of an inſurrection which, however, the Lieutenant Governor, ſoon made aware of, quelled at once by a battle in which he was victorious over Guarionex, taking him and other principal

perſons priſoners. The chief movers of the revolt were put to death; but Guarionex was delivered up to his people who flocked by thouſands to his place of impriſonment, clamouring for his reſtitution.

About this time meſſengers came from Bohechio and Anacaona informing the Adelantado that the tribute of that country was ready for him, and he accordingly went to fetch it. During his abſence there, and under the leſs vigorous adminiſtration of Don Diego Columbus who had been left at the head of affairs at Iſabella, thoſe diſcontents amongſt the Spaniards, which had no doubt been rife for a long time, broke out in a diſtinct manner. I allude to the well-known inſurrection of Roldan, whom the Admiral had left as Chief Juſtice in the iſland on his departure. The proceedings between the Chief Juſtice and the Governor were to form an original to many ſimilar ones to happen hereafter in many colonies even to our own times. It may be imagined that theſe Columbuſes were a hard race to deal with; and any one obſerving that the Admiral was very often engaged in diſputes and almoſt always in the right, might conjecture that he was one of thoſe perſons who go through life, proving that everybody about them is wrong, and going a great way to make

them ſo. This would have been an eaſy mode of explaining many things, and therefore very welcome to a narrator; but I cannot ſay that it ſeems at all juſt towards Columbus to ſaddle upon him any ſuch character. We are to conſider the men and the circumſtances he had to deal with. Here are men who have come out with very grand expectations, and who find themſelves pinched with hunger, having dire ſtorms to encounter, and vaſt labours to undergo; who are contained in due bonds by no preſſure of ſociety; who are commanded by a foreigner, or by members of his family, whom they know to have many enemies at court; who think that Los Reyes themſelves can ſcarcely reach them at this diſtance; and who imagine that they have worked themſelves out of all law and order, and that they deſerve an Alſatia. With ſuch men—(many of them, perhaps, not worthy of water) our Admiral and his brothers had to get uſeful work of all kinds done; and did contrive to get veſſels navigated, forts built, and ſome ideas of civilization maintained. But it was hard work at all times: and this Roldan did not furniſh the leaſt of the troubles which the Admiral and his brothers had to endure. Roldan, too, if we could hear him, would probably have ſomething to ſay. He wiſh-

ed, it appears, to get back again to Spain, as Father Buil and Margarite had done ; and ſaid that a certain caravel which the Governor Don Bartholomew Columbus had built, might be launched for that purpoſe. This is Ferdinand Columbus's account : and he ſays that the ſaid caravel could not be launched for want of tackle. He alſo mentions that Roldan complained of the reſtleſs life the Adelantado led them, building forts and towns, and that there was no hope of the Admiral coming back to the colony with ſupplies. Without going into theſe ſquabbles,—and indeed it is very difficult when a quarrel of this kind breaks out, taking it up at the point where it breaks out, to judge it upon that only, ſeeing the ſtream of ill-will may have run underground for a long time—ſuffice it to ſay that Roldan and his men grow more and more inſubordinate ; are not at all quelled by the preſence of the Adelantado on his return from Xaragua; and finally quit Iſabella in a body. The Adelantado contrives to keep ſome men faithful to him, promiſing them, amongſt other things, two ſlaves each. Negotiations then take place between the Adelantado and Roldan, which we muſt leave for the preſent to enter upon the further dealing of Don Bartholomew with the Indians.

Roldan revolts.

Theſe poor iſlanders were now haraſſed both

by the rebels and by the loyal Spaniards whom the Adelantado could not venture to curb much, for fear of their going over to the other party. The Indians were alſo tempted by Roldan to join him, he contending that tribute had been unjuſtly impoſed upon them. From all theſe difficulties Guarionex makes his eſcape by flying to the territories of Maiobanex, the Cacique of a long-haired hardy race, who inhabited the hilly country towards Cabron. This flight of Guarionex was a very ſerious affair, as it threatened the extinction of tribute in that Cacique's territory, and Don Bartholomew accordingly purſued the fugitive Cacique. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the troops of Maiobanex in which, as uſual, the Spaniards are victorious, the Adelantado ſends a meſſenger to Maiobanex telling him that the Spaniards do not ſeek war with him, but that he muſt give up the fugitive, otherwiſe his own territory will be deſtroyed with fire and ſword. Maiobanex replies, "that every one knows that Guarionex is a good "man, endowed with all virtue," wherefore he judges him to be worthy of aſſiſtance and defence, but that they, the Spaniards, are violent and bad men, and that he will have no commerce nor friendſhip with them.

Story of Guarionex and Maiobanex.

Upon receiving this anſwer, the Adelantado burns ſeveral villages and approaches nearer to the

camp of Maiobanex. Freſh negotiations are entered into: Maiobanex convokes an aſſembly of his people; and they ſay that Guarionex ought to be given up, and they curſe the day when firſt he came amongſt them. Their noble chief, however, ſaid "that Guarionex was a good man and deſerved "well at his hands, for he had given him many "royal gifts when he came to him, and had taught "him and his wife to join in choral ſongs and "to dance, of which he made no little account "and was grateful for: wherefore, he would be "party to no treaty to deſert Guarionex ſince he "had fled to him, and that he had pledged him-"ſelf to take care of him: and that he would "rather ſuffer all extremities with him than give "detractors a cauſe for ſpeaking ill, to ſay that "he had delivered up his gueſt."* The people being diſmiſſed, Maiobanex informs his gueſt that he will ſtand by him to the laſt.

The fugitive Cacique, however, finding that

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* Maiobanexius autem Guarionexium virum eſſe bonum et de ſe bene meritum, quod regia illi dona, cùm ad eum veniret, multa præbuiſſet, uxoremque ſuam et ipſum chorizare tripudiareque docuiſſet, quod non parvi faciebat, ſibique curæ eſſe reſpondit: propterea ſe nullo pacto eum, quandoquidem ad ſe confugerat, et ipſe tutandi fidem dederat, deſerturum: malleque ſe extrema omnia cum eo perpeti, quàm obloquendi cauſam, quòd hoſpitem tradiderit, detractoribus præbere. *Peter Martyr de rebus Oceanicis*, dec. 1, lib. 7.

Maiobanex's people ſeek his life, flies the territory; but by ſo doing he is not enabled to ſave his generous hoſt, who, with his family was ſurpriſed and taken; and Guarionex himſelf being ſhortly afterwards captured and put in chains at Fort Concepcion, the two Caciques probably ſhared the ſame priſon. Thus concludes a ſtory which, if it had been written by ſome Plutarch, and the names had been more eaſy to pronounce, might have taken its juſt place amongſt the familiar and houſehold ſtories which we tell our children to make them imitate great deeds.

1498. We muſt now paſs from the doings of the Adelantado to thoſe of his brother the Admiral. Columbus had at laſt obtained ſufficient ſupplies for his expedition, and had ſet forth from Spain with eight ſhips, the 30th May, 1498. In the courſe of his voyage he diſcovered Paria, on the continent of America, and landed at St. Domingo the 30th Auguſt, 1498. He found the ſtate of his Colony far from cheering, the defection of Roldan and his followers having put everything in confuſion. The Admiral ſuppoſed at firſt that the enmity of Roldan's party was chiefly directed againſt the Adelantado, and the Admiral hoped that now he had arrived, ſome agreement would ſpeedily be

Diſcovery of the continent of America.

concluded with Roldan, of which he might inform Los Reyes by the veſſels which he purpoſed to ſend back directly to Spain. This was very far, however, from being the caſe. Theſe veſſels, five in number, left the port of St. Domingo bearing no good news of peace and amity amongſt the Spaniards, but laden with many hundreds of Indian ſlaves which were taken in the following manner. Some Cacique, Las Caſas conjectures it to have been the Cacique of the vega Real, and it might either allude to Guarionex or his ſucceſſor, failed to perform the perſonal ſervices impoſed upon him and his people, and fled to the mountains; upon which, orders were given to purſue him, and a large number of ſlaves were taken and put into theſe ſhips. Columbus, in his letters to Los Reyes, goes into an account of the pecuniary advantage that will ariſe from theſe ſlave-dealing tranſactions, and from the ſale of logwood. He eſtimates that "in the name of the ſacred Trinity" there may be ſent as many ſlaves as ſale could be found for in Spain, and that the value of the ſlaves for which there would be a demand, taken at four thouſand, and of the logwood, would amount to 40 cuentos (i. e. 40 million maravedis).* The

* De aca ſe pueden con el nombre de la Santa Trinidad enviar

number of ſlaves who were ſent in theſe five ſhips was 600, of which 200 were given to the maſters of the veſſels in payment of freight. In the courſe of theſe ſame letters, throughout which Columbus ſpeaks after the faſhion of a regular ſlave-dealer, he alludes to the intended adoption, on behalf of private individuals, of a ſyſtem of exchange of ſlaves for goods wanted from the mother country. As far as I can make out the propoſed tranſaction, the maſters of veſſels were to receive ſlaves from the coloniſts, were to carry them to Spain, and to pay for their maintenance during the voyage; were then to allow the Coloniſts ſo much money payable at Seville, in proportion to the number of ſlaves brought over. This money they would expend according to the orders of the Coloniſts who would thus be able to obtain ſuch goods as they might ſtand in need of.* The Admiral alſo ſup-

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todos los eſclavos que ſe puedieſen vender, y braſil, de los cuales ſi la informacion que yo truje es cierta, me dicen que ſe podràn vender cuatro mil, y que á poco valer valoràn veinte cuentos; y cuatro mil quintales de braſil que pueden valer otro tanto, y el gaſto puede aqui ſer ſeis cuentos; aſi que á prima az buenos ſerian cuarenta cuentos ſi eſto ſalieſe aſi. *Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 150.

* Y ſalieron agora dos ó tres Maeſtres de navios, que puſieron á la puerta cedulas para quien ſe quiera obligar á les dar mill y quinientos maravediſes en Sevilla, que les llevarán alli tantos eſclavos, y les faria la coſta, y la paga ſeria de los dineros que dellos

plicates their Highneſſes, that the Spaniſh Coloniſts ſhould be allowed to make uſe of the ſervices of the Indians for a year or two until the Colony ſhould be in a ſettled ſtate,* a propoſal which he did not wait for their Highneſſes' authority to carry out, and which led to a new form of the *repartimiento*. But this brings us back to Roldan's ſtory, being cloſely connected with it.

After great trouble and many compacts, in which mention is more than once made of ſlaves,† the matter is at laſt, after two years negotiation, brought to a cloſe. Roldan keeps his Chief-Juſticeſhip: and his friends get lands and ſlaves. It reminds us of the end of many a long war in the Old World, in which two great powers have been contending againſt each other, with ſeveral ſmall powers on each ſide, who are either ruined in the courſe of the war, or ſacrificed at the end. The Admiral gives *repar-*

ſe ſacaſen. Plugó mucho á la gente toda, é yo lo acepte por todos, y les proteſto de le dar la carga; y aſi vernan y traeran baſtimentos y coſas que ſon acá neceſſarias. *Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 155 and 156.

* Suplico á Vueſtras Altezas tengan por bien que eſta gente ſe aproveche agora un año ó dos faſta que eſte negocio eſté empie, que ya ſe endereza. *Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 155 and 156.

† *Barcia Hiſt. del Alm.* cap. 80.

timientos to thoſe followers of Roldan who chooſe to ſtay in the iſland, which the Admiral does in this way. He places under ſuch a Cacique ſo many thouſand "*matas*," (ſhoots of the Cazabi) or, which came to the ſame thing, ſo many thouſand "*montones*," (ſmall mounds a foot and a half high and ten or twelve feet round, on each of which a Cazabi ſhoot was planted) and Columbus orders that the Cacique or his people ſhould work theſe lands for whomſoever they were aſſigned to.*

Repartimiento enlarged.

The *repartimiento* has now grown to its ſecond ſtate—not lands only, but lands and the tillage of them. We ſhall yet find that there is a further ſtep in this matter, before the *repartimiento* aſſumes its ſtrongeſt form. It ſeems, too, that Columbus gave theſe men ſlaves alſo. Others of Roldan's followers, fifteen in number, choſe to return to Spain: they received a certain number of ſlaves, ſome one, ſome two, ſome three; and the Admiral ſent them home in two veſſels which left the Port of St Domingo at the beginning of

1499. October, 1499.

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* Y de aqui tomarō origen los repartimientos, o encomiēdas de todas las Indias, porque los daua el Almirante por ſus cedulas, diziēdo que daua en tal Cacique tātas mil matas, o montones, que todo es uno, y que aquel Cacique, o ſus gentes, labraſſen para quien las daua, aquellas tierras. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 16.

On the arrival in Spain of theſe veſſels, the Queen was in the higheſt degree angered by theſe proceedings, and ſaid that the Admiral had no authority from her to give her vaſſals to any one, and commanded proclamations to be made at Seville, Granada and other places, that all perſons who had Indians which the Admiral had given them, ſhould ſend thoſe Indians back to Hiſpaniola under pain of death, " and that particularly " they ſhould ſend back thoſe Indians, and not " the others who had before been brought, becauſe " ſhe was informed that they had been taken in " juſt war."* The former part of this proclamation has been often enough alluded to, and deſerves much praiſe; but from the latter part it is clear that there were ſome Indians who could juſtly, according to Iſabella, be made ſlaves. So that by this time at any rate the queſtion had been ſolved, whether by the learned in the law, Theologians and Canoniſts, I know not, but in practice, that

* La Reyna Catolica recibiò grandiſſimo enojo, y dixo que el Almirante no tenia ſu poder para dar a nadie ſus vaſallos, y mandò pregonar en Seuilla, Granada, y otras partes, que todos los que tunieſſen Indios, que les huvieſſe dado el Almirante, los boluieſſen a la Eſpañola ſopena de muerte, y que particularmẽte boluieſſen eſtos Indios, y no los otros que antes ſe avian traydo, porque eſtava informada, que eran avidos de buena guerra. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 7.

the Indians taken in war could be made ſlaves. The whole of this tranſaction is very curious. There is nothing to ſhow that the ſlaves given to Roldan's followers were made ſlaves in a different way from thoſe who had been ſent over on former occaſions both by the Admiral and his brother for the benefit of the Crown. And yet Iſabella, who had no tricks of ſtate about her, ſeems to deal with this particular caſe as if it were ſomething quite new. It cannot be ſaid that the Crown was favoured; for the queſtion is put upon the legitimacy of the original capture; and to confirm this, there is a letter from Los Reyes to one of their houſehold, from which it may be inferred, though the wording is rather obſcure, that they, too, gave up the ſlaves which had come over for them on this occaſion.*

Everybody would be ſorry to take away any honour from Iſabella; and I wiſh with all my heart, her proclamation could be proved to have gone quite to the root of the matter; but at any rate it cannot be characterized as a mere blowing of trumpets for injured dignity, if it is not, indeed, altogether a blaſt of wrath againſt an outrage to humanity.

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* See *Navarrete*, vol. 2, Col. Dip. Num. 134.

To return to the affairs of Hiſpaniola. Columbus had now ſettled the Roldan revolt and other ſmaller ones; he had now, too, reduced the Indians into ſubjection; the mines were proſpering; the Indians were to be brought together in populous villages, that ſo they might better be taught the Chriſtian Faith, and ſerve as Vaſſals to the Crown of Caſtile; the royal revenues (always a matter of much concern to Columbus) would, he thought, in three years amount to ſixty millions of reals; and now there was time for him to ſit down, and meditate upon the rebuilding of the temple of Jeruſalem, or the converſion of Cathay.* If there had been any prolonged quiet, ſuch things are what he would probably have begun to think about. But he had hardly more than a month of repoſe, or joy,

The fortunes of Columbus culminate.

* David en ſu teſtamento dejó tres mil quintales de oro de las Indias á Salomon para ayuda de edificar el templo, y ſegun Joſefo era el deſtas miſmas tierras. Hieruſalem y el monte Sion ha de ſer reedificado por mano de criſtianos: quien ha de ſer, Dios por boca del Profeta en el décimo cuarto ſalmo lo dice. El Abad Joaquin dijo que eſte habia de ſalir de Eſpaña. San Gerónimo á la ſanta mujer le moſtró el camino para ello. El Emperador del Catayo ha dias que mandó ſabios que le enſeñen en la fé de Criſto. ç Quién ſerá que ſe ofrezca á eſto? Si nueſtro Señor me lleva á Eſpaña, yo me obligo de llevarle, con el nombre de Dios, en ſalvo. *Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 309.

when that evil came down upon him, which, in the words of our excellent hiſtorian Muñoz, poured the juice of aloes into the remaining days of his life.*

Los Reyes, I contend, had upon the whole, hitherto, behaved well to Columbus. He had bitter enemies at Court. People were for ever dinning into the ears of Los Reyes that this foreigner was doing wrong. The Admiral's ſon Ferdinand gives us a vivid picture of this. He ſays "when I was at Granada at the time the "moſt ſerene prince Don Miguel died, more "than fifty of them, (Spaniards who had returned "from the Indies) as men without ſhame, bought "a great quantity of grapes, and ſat themſelves "down in the Court of the Alhambra, uttering "loud cries, ſaying, that their Highneſſes and the "Admiral made them live in this poor faſhion on "account of the bad pay they received, with "many other diſhoneſt and unſeemly things, "which they kept repeating. Such was their "effrontery, that when the Catholic King came

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* Entonces vino el golpe fatal que acibaró todos los dias de ſu vida. *Muñoz, Hiſt. del Nuevo Mundo*, lib. 6, cap. 57.

Theſe are the laſt printed words of Muñoz's hiſtory: there is more in manuſcript which ſurely ſome good Spaniard ought to ſee to the printing of, forthwith.

" forth they all ſurrounded him, and got him " into the midſt of them, ſaying, ' Pay ! Pay !' " and if by chance I and my brother who were " pages to the moſt ſerene Queen happened to " paſs where they were, they ſhouted to the very " heavens ſaying, ' Look at the ſons of the Ad- " miral of Moſquito-land, of that man who has " diſcovered the lands of deceit and diſappoint- " ment, a place of ſepulchre and wretchedneſs to " Spaniſh hidalgoes:' adding many other inſulting " expreſſions, on which account we excuſed our- " ſelves from paſſing by them."*

Unjuſt clamour, like the above, would not, alone, have turned the hearts of the Catholic Sovereigns againſt Columbus; but this clamour was not unſupported by ſerious grounds for diſ- ſatisfaction in the ſtate and proſpects of the colo- ny: and when there is a conſtant ſtream of en- mity and prejudice againſt a man, his conduct, or his fortune, will ſome day give good way for it to ruſh in upon him. However this may be, ſoon after the return of the five veſſels from St. Domingo, mentioned above, which firſt told the news of the Roldan revolt, and which brought

* *Barcia, Hiſt. del Almirante*, cap. LXXXV.

back the firſt Indian ſlaves to Spain, Los Reyes appear to have taken into ſerious conſideration the queſtion of ſuſpending Columbus. He had, himſelf, in the letters ſent over in theſe ſhips requeſted that ſome one might be ſent to conduct the affairs of juſtice in the Colony; but if Ferdinand and Iſabella began by merely looking out for ſuch an officer, they ended in reſolving to ſend one who ſhould take the civil as well as judicial authority into his hands. This determination was not,
1499. however, acted upon haſtily. On the 21ſt of March, 1499, they give commiſſion to Francis de Bobadilla "to aſcertain what perſons have "raiſed themſelves againſt Juſtice in the iſland "of Hiſpaniola, and to proceed againſt them ac-"cording to law."* On the 21ſt of May, 1499, they confer upon him the Government, and ſign an order that all arms and fortreſſes in the Indies ſhould be given up to him.† On the 26th of the ſame month, they give him the following remarkable letter to Columbus.

"*Don Chriſtopher Columbus our Admiral of the* "*Ocean: We have commanded the Comendador* "*Francis de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, that he*

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* *Navarrete*, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2. Núm. CXXVII.

† Ibid. vol. 2. Núm. CXXVIII-IX.

" *talk to you on our part ſome things which he will*
" *tell you: we pray you give him faith and cre-*
" *dence, and act accordingly.**

" I THE KING, I THE QUEEN.

" *By their command.*

" MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN."

Bobadilla, however, was not ſent from Spain until the beginning of July, 1500, and did not make his appearance in Hiſpaniola till the 23rd of Auguſt of the ſame year. So their Highneſſes muſt have taken good time before carrying their reſolve into execution, and what they meant by it is dubious. Certainly not, that the matter ſhould have been tranſacted in the way which Bobadilla managed it. It is a great pity they fixed upon a perſon like Bobadilla. I imagine him to have been ſuch a man as one ſometimes ſees, who from his narrowneſs of mind and diſtinctneſs of prejudice is ſuppoſed to be high-principled and direct in his dealings; and whoſe untried reputation has great favour with many people: till placed in power ſome day, he ſhows that rule requires quite other things than oneſidedneſs in

1500. Bobadilla arrives in Hiſpaniola.

* Navarrete, vol. 2, Núm. CXXX.

the ruler; and is fortunate if he does not acquire that part of renown which conſiſts in notoriety, by committing ſome coloſſal blunder, henceforth hiſtorical from its largeneſs.

The firſt thing that Bobadilla does on arriving at St. Domingo, is to take poſſeſſion of the Admiral's houſe, (the Admiral was at the fort La Concepçion) and he then ſummons the Admiral, ſending him the royal letter. The Admiral and his brother the Adelantado do not attempt reſiſtance: and Bobadilla with a ſtupid brutality which, I ſuppoſe, he took for vigour, puts them in chains and ſends them to Spain. There is no doubt that the Caſtilian population of Hiſpaniola were rejoiced at Bobadilla's coming, and that they abetted him in all his violence. Accuſations came thick againſt Columbus: "the ſtones roſe "up againſt him and his brothers," ſays the Hiſtorian Herrera emphatically. The people told how he had made them work, even ſick men, at his fortreſſes, at his houſe, at the mills, and other buildings; how he had ſtarved them; how he had had men whipped for the ſlighteſt cauſes, as for inſtance, for ſtealing a peck of wheat when they were dying of hunger. Conſidering the difficulties he had to deal with, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, many of theſe accuſations, if rightly examined, would probably have not only fallen to the ground,

Columbus and his brothers ſent to Spain in chains.

but would have developed proofs of Columbus's firmneſs and ſagacity as a Governor. Then his accuſers go on to other grounds, ſuch as his not having baptized Indians "becauſe he deſired ſlaves "rather than Chriſtians:" moreover, that he had entered into war unjuſtly with the Indians, and that he had made many ſlaves, in order to ſend them to Caſtile. I do not believe that theſe latter accuſations were uttered by a ſingle coloniſt, unleſs, perhaps, by ſome man in religious orders. The probability is, that theſe accuſations came from the other ſide of the water, and this does give conſiderable ſtrength to the report, that diſpleaſure of the Court with reſpect to the Admiral's proceedings againſt the Indians, had to do with his removal from the Government of the Indies. If ſo, it ſpeaks largely for the continued admirable intentions of the Spaniſh Court in this matter.

Poor Columbus! His chains lie upon him very grievouſly. He inſiſts upon not having them taken off though, unleſs by Royal command, and will keep them by him ("I always ſaw them "in his room" ſays Ferdinand Columbus) and will order that they ſhall be buried with him. He does not know how many wretched beings will traverſe thoſe ſeas in bonds much worſe than his, with no room allowed to them for writing, as was his caſe,—not even for ſtanding upright; nor

does he fortunately foreſee that ſome of his doings will have furthered all this coming miſery. In theſe chains, however, Columbus is of more intereſt to us than when in full power as Governor of the Indies; for ſo it is, that the moſt infelicitous times of a man's life are thoſe which poſterity will look to moſt, and love him moſt for. Let this comfort him, for he will think of this too; but happily will find true comfort in thoſe pious thoughts which never deſert him.* We have come now to the end of his adminiſtration of the Indies. Whatever we may think of his general policy, we cannot but regret his removal at the preſent time, when there appeared ſome chance of ſolidity in his government: though we muſt honeſtly admit, I think, that Los Reyes, with the evidence they had before them, were far from wrong in recalling Columbus, had it been done in a manner worthy of his and their greatneſs.

I do not know that there is much to be ſaid

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* "Hope in him who created all men ſuſtains me: his ſuccour "was always very ſpeedy. At another time, and not long ago, "when I was lower ſtill, he raiſed me with his divine arm, ſaying, "'O man of little faith, ariſe, it is I, be not afraid.'"

La eſperanza de aquel que crió á todos me ſoſtiene: ſu ſocorro ſue ſiempre muy preſto. Otra vez, y no de lejos eſtando yo mas bajo, me levantó con ſu brazo divino, diciendo: "ó hombre de poca fé, levantate que yo ſoy, no hayas miedo." *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 265.

about the Government of Bobadilla. Ferdinand Columbus makes many dire complaints againſt this Governor, of his favouritiſm, covetouſneſs, injuſtice and mob ſervice; but theſe accuſations coming from that quarter muſt be received with caution. And, indeed, whatever fault Bobadilla might have had, there is good reaſon for thinking that he was quite free from anything like perſonal corruption.

One thing, however, he ſeems to have done, or permitted, which was moſt miſchievous. Columbus placed a Cacique and his followers on certain lands, and then named certain Spaniards who were to receive the benefit from the tillage of theſe lands. We find alſo that he allowed Indians to be taken to work in the mines; but then an eſpecial licenſe was neceſſary and it was given from ſuch a month to ſuch a month.* This, however, was a conſiderable extenſion of the *repartimiento*, and a very evil one for the poor Indians. But Bobadilla ſeems, if we may truſt Charlevoix, to have gone further and to have allowed the Spaniards to treat their Indians as a labour gang, to be taken to work any where and without any reſtrictions.† He alſo, according to

Extenſion of the repartimiento.

* Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias. *MSS.* lib. 1, cap. 161.

† Il contraignit les Caciques de fournir à chaque Eſpagnol un

the ſame authority, numbered the inhabitants of the iſland and made a diſtribution of them.

It is very difficult to lay down correct limits and periods for the various extenſions of the *repartimiento* as defined by law, ſtill more of what it was made by cuſtom; and we may therefore be wronging Bobadilla in attributing this laſt extenſion to him: but we have accounts of the general courſe of his proceedings which repreſent him, like the unjuſt Steward in the Scriptures, though not upon the ſame motives, bidding the Spaniards under his dominion make as much haſte as they could to profit by their preſent advantages; and making friends for himſelf by eaſy treatment of his maſter's debtors.

His government did not laſt much more than a year and a half. He was removed in conſequence of the juſt remonſtrances of Columbus; and the government was given on the 3rd of September 1501, to Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the order of Alcantara.

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certain nombre de ſes ſujets, dont ceux-ci ſe ſervaient, comme ils auraient pû faire des bêtes de charge; et pour empêcher ces malheureux de pouvoir ſe ſouſtraire au joug, qu'il venait de leur impoſer, il commença par faire un dénombrement de tous les Inſulaires, puis il les rédigea par claſſes, enſuite il les diſtribua aux habitans, plus ou moins, ſuivant qu'il voulait gratifier un chacun. De cette ſorte toute l'iſle ſe trouva réduite ſous le plus dur eſclavage, qui fut jamais. *Charlevoix, Hiſt. de. S. Domingue.* lib. 3, p. 205.

CHAPTER V.

Ovando's Government, and the Events connected with it.

IN conſidering hiſtory, nothing is more curious to reflect upon than the chance way, as it ſeems to us, in which the particular actors come before us. Theſe Indians, for inſtance, whom we have met with in the courſe of this narrative, will always have a certain place in hiſtory; and how ſtrange it is to find them there. For centuries, many ſuch as Guacanagari and many ſuch as Caonabó had ſhot off their puny arrows, ſmoked their long pipes, and gone down to the ſhades of their forefathers "unwept, unhonoured and unſung," at leaſt by Europeans: when, ſuddenly, amongſt the liſtleſs threads of Indian affairs is plied the buſy ſhuttle of European enterprize, till they come out woven into ſomething like hiſtorical tapeſtry; and the relationſhips and alliances of petty Caciques become part of a ſtory which I think, if it be moderately well told, the world will always liſten to.

Now, if we men had the making of hiſtory, we ſhould, I ſuppoſe, chooſe to have the game played by the beſt pieces on the board: but how much more intereſting it is after all, that hiſtory embraces almoſt every variety of human character as well as of human circumſtance. There is no claſs or kind of perſon, for example, to whom ſupreme power has not been entruſted. The real king, the good ſort of man, the utter ſenſualiſt, the mere ſoldier, the intriguer, the idiot, the madman, have all been crowned: nor, in our own times, have we been without inſtances of moſt unlikely perſons being ſuddenly called to ſupreme power, to ſee what they could make of it.

In our preſent narrative nothing can be more abrupt than the change from Columbus to the two governors who ſucceeded him: both ſoldier-monks, probably with a certain narrow way of looking at things incident to their profeſſion, and with no eſpecial culture that I know of; while he was of various accompliſhments, large-minded, enthuſiaſtic, fluent, affectionate, inventive.

In chooſing Ovando, however, Los Reyes ſeem this time to have taken great pains to provide a worthy governor for the Indies. With regard to his perſonal appearance, we are told, that he was of moderate ſtature, and had a

vermilion-coloured beard, which fact hardly conveys much to our minds, but it is added in general terms that his preſence expreſſed authority: with regard to his mental qualifications, we learn that he was a friend to juſtice, an honourable perſon both in words and deeds, and that he held all avarice and covetouſneſs in much averſion. He was humble too, they ſay; and when he was appointed Comendador Mayor of the order of Alcantara he would never allow himſelf to be addreſſed by the title of "Lordſhip," which belonged to that office.

Qualities of Ovando.

Previous to Ovando's departure from Court, Los Reyes were particular in giving him inſtructions both verbal and written. Amongſt theſe inſtructions was one which Iſabella eſpecially inſiſted on: namely, "that all the Indians in Hiſ-" paniola ſhould be free from ſervitude and be "unmoleſted by any one, and that they ſhould "live as free vaſſals governed and protected by "juſtice as were the vaſſals of Caſtile."* Like the vaſſals in Spain the Indians were to pay tribute; they were alſo to aſſiſt in getting gold, but for this they were to be paid daily wages. Other commands were given at the ſame time for the

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 11. (xi).

converſion of the Indians, and to inſure their being treated kindly.

Reſpecting the general government of the Country, it was arranged that on Ovando's going out, all thoſe who received pay from the Government in the Indies, as well thoſe who had accompanied Bobadilla as thoſe who had come out originally with Columbus, ſhould return to Spain, and a new ſet to replace them ſhould go out with Ovando. This was done becauſe the major part of theſe ſoldiers and officials had neceſſarily been connected with the late troubles of the Colony, and it would be a good plan to ſtart afreſh, as it were. At the ſame time it was provided that no Jews, Moors or new Converts were to go to the Indies or to be permitted to remain there: but negro ſlaves "born in the power of "Chriſtians" were to be allowed to paſs to the Indies, and the Officers of the royal revenue were to receive the money to be paid for their permits.*

1501. Firſt mention of negroes going to the Indies.

This is the firſt notice about negroes going to the Indies. Theſe inſtructions were given in the year 1501.

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* Que ſe dexaſſen paſſar eſclavos negros, nacidos en poder de Chriſtianos, y que ſe recibieſſe en cuenta a los oficiales de la Real hazienda, lo q̃ por ſus firmas ſe pagaſſe. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 12.

On Ovando's arrival in the colony, Bobadilla was to undergo the ordeal of a "*reſidencia*," a kind of examination well known and conſtantly practiſed in Spain, to which authorities were ſubject on going out of office—a ſort of general impeachment. We are glad to find that amongſt the orders given to Ovando there are ſome for the reſtitution of the Admiral's property and the maintenance of his mercantile rights.

Juſt before Ovando took leave of the King, he received a formal lecture upon the duties of a governor. The King, the Queen, and the Privy Councillor Antonio de Fonſeca were the perſons preſent; and, as I imagine, the latter addreſſed Ovando on the part of their Highneſſes. As it is not often that we have an opportunity of hearing a didactic lecture on the modes and duties of government given in the preſence of a great maſter of that art, and probably looked over, if not prepared, by him, we muſt enter the Royal Cabinet and hear ſome part of this diſcourſe.

The duties of a Governor.

The firſt point which Fonſeca impreſſes upon Ovando, is, that before all things, he is to look to what concerns the reverence of God and his worſhip. Then he is to examine into the life and capacity of the men about him, and to put good men into office; taking care, however, not to

leave all the authority in the hands of ſubordinates (here we may well imagine Ferdinand nodded approvingly) to the diminution of his own power, " nor to make them ſo great that they ſhall have " occaſion to contrive novelties" in order to make themſelves greater. But let there be change of authorities, ſo that many may have a ſhare of profit and honour, and be made ſkilful in affairs.

That he ſhould uſe moderation in making repartimientos and tributes, not overtaxing the people, which moderation would be furthered by his taking care that his perſonal and his houſehold expenſes were within due bounds. (Here, I fancy, the monarchs looked at each other, thought of their own frugal way of living, and Iſabella ſmiled.)

That he ſhould not make himſelf judge in a cauſe, but let culprits be tried in the ordinary way. Thus he will avoid unpopularity, for " the " remembrance of the crime periſhes: not ſo, that " of the puniſhment." This aphoriſm, I think, muſt have been Ferdinand's own. His writing is always exceedingly conciſe and to the purpoſe.

That he ſhould not liſten to talebearers (*parleros*) either of his own houſehold or to thoſe out of it; nor take vengeance upon anybody who had ſpoken ill of him, it being " an ugly thing to

" believe that anybody could ſpeak ill of one who " did ill to no one, but good to all." That it is one of the conditions of bad governors, " moved " therein by their own conſciences" to give heed to what they hear is ſaid of them and to take ill that, which if it had been ſaid, they had better not have heard. Rather let injurious ſayings be overcome by magnanimity.

That it would be good for him to give free audience to all, and to hear what they had to ſay: and if their counſel turned out ill, not to look coldly upon them for that. The ſame in war, or in anything elſe: his agents muſt not have to fear puniſhment for failure nor calumny for ſucceſs: " for there were many perſons who, to avoid the " envy of their ſuperiors, ſought rather to loſe a " victory than to gain it." (Here Ferdinand ought to have looked a little aſhamed, being conſcious that his own practice by no means came up to what he perceives to be noble and wiſe policy in the matter, as hereafter notably appeared in his treatment of the " Great Captain.")

That he (Ovando) ſhould look to what example he gives both in word and deed, Governors living as in a theatre in the midſt of the world. If he does ill, even thoſe who follow him in that will not the leſs diſeſteem him.

That although it is neceſſary for him to know the life of every one, yet he muſt not be over-inquiſitive about it, or rout up offences which are not brought before him officially. "Since if all "offences were looked into, few men, or none, "would be without puniſhment." Beſides, for ſecret faults men may correct themſelves: if thoſe faults are made known, and eſpecially if they are overpuniſhed, ſhame is loſt and men give way to their bad impulſes.

That he is to encourage thoſe who work and diſcourage the idle, as the Univerſal Father does.

That, as regards liberality, he ſhould ſo conduct himſelf, that men ſhould not dare to aſk him for things which they knew he would have to deny: this would be a great reſtraint upon them, and a great proof of good reputation in a Governor.

That, in fine, all that had been ſaid conſiſted in this, that he was to govern as he would be governed: and that "it behoved him to be intent "on buſineſs, to ſhow courage in difficulties and "management in all things, brevity in executing "uſeful determinations, yet not as if carried away "by paſſion, but always upon good counſel; "conſidering much what a charge was upon him, "for this thought would be uſeful to him at all "times: and above all things he was to take

" heed (in order that might not happen to him " which happened to the Admiral)* that when " any occaſion for dealing briefly with an offence " occurred, he ſhould have ſwift recourſe to pun- " iſhment, for in ſuch caſes the remedy ought " to be like a thunderbolt."†

After reading the above, we cannot ſay that Los Reyes were inattentive to the government of their Indian poſſeſſions. It is ſaid by Herrera and Las Caſas that the Catholic Sovereigns aſſigned a duration of two years to Ovando's government; and Charlevoix, in his hiſtory of St. Domingo, ſays that it was their intention at the end of thoſe two years, to reinſtate the Admiral. I do not give credit to this; and in the document appointing Ovando, the words are, that he is to be governor as long as it is their Highneſſes' will and pleaſure.‡ There is a reſtriction upon him, but it is one that regards the extent of his government and not the duration of it. It is declared that his authority

* This paſſage is remarkable as it ſhows the King ſuppoſed the Admiral to fail as a Governor from indeciſiveneſs, a very different thing from ſeverity and yet not inconſiſtent with it. The poſition of Columbus as a foreigner may account for this want of deciſion, if the king was right in attributing it to him.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 4, c. 13.

‡ Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2, p. 255.

is not to extend to the iſlands where Alonſo de Ojeda and Vicente Yañez Pinzon are governing. I have not, hitherto, made mention of theſe two diſcoverers, or, indeed, of any others beſides the Admiral; being deſirous to keep, if poſſible, to the main current of the hiſtory of the New World. If we ſuffer ourſelves to be diverted from that, we ſhall get into ſome ſuch perplexity as we ſhould, if we ourſelves were navigating without chart in the midſt of thoſe Weſt Indian ſeas thick with ſhoals and iſlets. Where the proceedings in reſpect of any one iſland will not give us an adequate view of the general policy, we muſt have recourſe to the hiſtory of other iſlands; but, for the preſent, we follow the fate of the iſland firſt ſettled, and which may be conſidered as the ſeat of government in the Weſt Indies, Hiſpaniola.

At the ſame time it muſt not be ſuppoſed but that American diſcovery is ſpreading out in ſeveral directions. Their Highneſſes have already made terms with many adventurers whom the fine things brought home from the Indies and the renown that men have gained there, tempt irreſiſtibly to further daring.

1502. On the 13th of February 1502, Nicholas de Ovando leaves the Port of San Lucar to take poſſeſſion of his new government, having under

him a gallant company of two thouſand five hundred perſons, a large proportion of them being Hidalgoes. He will meet with a terrible ſtorm on his way, and may be very thankful to reach St. Domingo at all, which, however, he will accompliſh on the 15th of the enſuing April. Meanwhile, we will take this opportunity, as many perhaps of his company did, to talk over the ſtate and proſpects of the royal family of Spain, which materially affect our ſubject.

Death had made many a ſad inroad into the home of Ferdinand and Iſabella. They had loſt their only ſon, Prince John, in 1497. Of their four daughters, Iſabel had married the heir of the Portugueſe throne, and after his death, without children, the next heir. She died in giving birth to a ſon: and the child died ſoon afterwards. Juana, the ſecond daughter, was married to Philip, ſon of Maximilian the Emperor, and had two ſons, Charles, afterwards Charles V. and Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Catharine of Aragon, another daughter, was married, as we all know, into the Royal family of England. Then there was Maria who married the widower of her ſiſter Iſabel. Royal family of Spain.

Juana was now the heireſs, and ſhe was "*Juana la loca*"—Juana the inſane. Her huſband Philip

had lately viſited Spain; but wearied of the Spaniards and probably not leſs ſo of his doting and imbecile wife, he had ſet off again for Flanders. Doubtleſs all theſe domeſtic troubles had ſaddened the heart and injured the health of Iſabella; and we muſt not be ſurpriſed if at no diſtant time we have to loſe the light of her loving countenance on our Indian affairs. As long, however, as there is any ſpark of life in her, ſhe will not be wanting to us.

It muſt be remembered, while we are diſcuſſing the affairs of the Royal Family of Spain, that the Kingdom of Caſtile was eſſentially ſeparate from that of Aragon, and that on Iſabella's death, Caſtile, and with it the Indies, muſt go to the helpleſs Juana and therefore to her huſband;—not to the politic Ferdinand, into whoſe ſagacity for government we have juſt had ſome inſight from that addreſs of his to Ovando. On every account then the ſtate of the Royal family is a matter of moment to the Indies.

We may alſo mention at this time, though it is not neceſſarily connected with our ſubject, that Columbus was received very graciouſly by their Highneſſes; was promiſed to be reinſtated in his rights; and is about to commence his fourth and laſt voyage of diſcovery. He is not,

however, to land at St. Domingo for reaſons which are obvious.

Nicholas de Ovando arrives at St. Domingo the 15th of April 1502. Las Caſas, now in his 28th year, came out in the ſame fleet; and he tells us that as the veſſels neared the ſhore, the Spaniſh Coloniſts ran down to hear the news from home, and to tell their good news exultingly in return, which was, that an extraordinary lump of gold had been found and that certain Indians were in revolt. "I heard it myſelf," the hiſtorian ſays; and he is right to chronicle the fact, ſhowing as it does the views which prevailed among the ſettlers, of the advantage of an Indian revolt in furniſhing ſlaves. This great piece of gold which they talked about, had been found accidentally by an Indian woman at the mines, while liſtleſsly moving her rake to and fro in the water one day during dinner time. It contained 3000 peſos worth, equal to 1350000 maravedis, and in the feſtivities that took place on the occaſion, was uſed as a diſh for a roaſt pig, the miners ſaying that no king of Caſtile had ever feaſted from a diſh of ſuch value. We do not find that the poor Indian woman had any part in the good fortune. Indeed, as Las Caſas ſays, ſhe was fortunate if ſhe had any portion of the meat, not to ſpeak of the diſh.

1502. Ovando arrives at St. Domingo.

Amidſt the clamour of ſuch welcome, the new Governor lands, is duly received by the authorities, and commences the affairs of government. He announces the *reſidencia* of Bobadilla, and takes Roldan priſoner. The people he had brought with him ruſh off to the mines, knowing nothing of the kind of work, or how the veins ran, or anything about it. Their proviſions failed them; fevers ſeized them; and, in ſhort, more than a thouſand of Ovando's two thouſand five hundred periſhed at once in a wretched manner. The only people who had food to traffic with were the three hundred Caſtilians, old reſidents as we may call them, and as they had ſcarcely any clothes, ſuch of the new comers as had clothes, or tools, were enabled to get food for a time. It could not be expected, however, that the food provided by three hundred improvident people would go far amongſt two thouſand five hundred.

Rage for mining.

Here it may be noticed that in general thoſe coloniſts who devoted themſelves to mining remained poor, while the farmers grew rich. When melting-time came, which was at ſtated intervals of eight months, it often happened that, after the King's dues were paid, and thoſe, who had claims upon the produce for advances already made to the miners, were ſatisfied, nothing remained for

Farmers thrive.

the miner himſelf. And ſo all this blood and toil were not paid for even in money: and many ſtill continued to eat their meals from the ſame wooden platters they had been accuſtomed to in the old country, only with diſcontented minds and ſouls beginning to be embruted by cruelty.

While Ovando is doing what he can in the troubles that met him at the outſet of his adminiſtration, Columbus ſuddenly appears again upon the ſcene—thoroughly unwelcome no doubt to the new Governor. One of Columbus's veſſels wants refitting, and he wiſhes to change her for another in the fleet; moreover, as he informs Ovando, he deſires to enter the port of St. Domingo, becauſe he foreſees that a hurricane is coming on. The landſman Ovando perceives nothing of the kind; and is only anxious to get Columbus away as ſoon as he can, and thus to obey the orders received from their Highneſſes, which were that Columbus ſhould not land at St. Domingo. Beſides, Bobadilla is not yet gone, and Roldan and his faction are there, ſo there is no knowing what tumult might ariſe if Columbus were permitted to land. In fine, Ovando ſtands upon the orders he had received, and very wiſely, as it appears to me, with his lights, refuſes to allow Columbus to enter the harbour. That

Ovando put no faith in the great navigator's prophecy about the coming hurricane, is manifeſt, becauſe he ſent away at that moment the return fleet to Spain. Columbus made as quickly as he could for ſome ſafe anchorage. The hurricane did come on and raged furiouſly. The greater part of the return fleet ſank. Bobadilla periſhed, Roldan periſhed, and there was a grand clearance made of the enemies of Columbus. Amongſt the few veſſels that eſcaped was a lumbering one, the worſt in the fleet it is ſaid, which was taking back the goods of Columbus to Spain. The men of that day ſaw in this the eſpecial hand of Providence.

This ſame hurricane did great damage to the town of St. Domingo, and the Governor took occaſion to change the ſite of the town to the other ſide of the river where it now ſtands. About this time, too, he beſtirred himſelf in founding ſettlements. The firſt that he reſolved to found was on the North of the iſland, at the Puerto de Plata, one of his reaſons for founding a ſettlement there being the great multitude of Indians in that part:* ſo that at any rate at that time Hiſpaniola

* Por la mucha multitud de Indios que en ella avia. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap 4.

See alſo Columbus's letter to the pope, anno 1502.

was not depopulated. The expedition, in their way to Puerto de Plata, had occaſion to touch at or near the iſland of Saona, the very ſpot which the coloniſts alluded to, when coming down to the ſhore to welcome the Governor, they had joyfully exclaimed that the Indians were in revolt. The cauſe of this muſt now be told. Between the inhabitants of the little iſland of Saona and the Spaniards there had originally been much friendſhip. Theſe Indians had been in the habit of ſupplying their new friends with bread; and on one occaſion lately, a Spaniſh party had been ſent to the iſland to get bread there. The Cacique of the place, with a ſtick in his hand, was urging his men and haſtening the preparations. The Spaniards were looking on: one of them had his dog with him, and the dog was wild to get at the Cacique. The Spaniard could hardly hold in the dog; and, unfortunately, happened to remark to a comrade ſtanding by him, "what a thing it would be "if we were to ſet the dog at him." His friend in jeſt ſaid "at him" (*tomalo*) thinking that the Spaniard could certainly reſtrain the dog. The dog, with this encouragement, burſt from his maſter, ruſhed on the Cacique, and killed him in a manner hideous to think of. The adjacent province roſe in arms: and it was no wonder therefore

Origin of the revolt in Higuey.

that when the mariners, whom Ovando ſent to found his new colony of Puerto de Plata, touched at a ſpot near to where the above tranſaction took place, the natives ſhould have conſidered them as invaders and have attacked them accordingly. In the conflict that enſued nine Spaniards were killed, and the news of their ſlaughter being brought to the Governor, he ordered war to be declared,—war, according to the phraſe of the time, "of fire and blood." From all the Spaniſh citadels forces were ſent under various captains, and Juan de Eſquivel was named Captain-general of the force, which amounted to four hundred men. On the arrival of this body in Higuey, the province of Hiſpaniola adjacent to the iſland of Saona, and which had been concerned in the original revolt, the Indians ſeem to have behaved with ſufficient bravery; but finding that their naked bodies and childiſh weapons could in no way compete with well-clad, well-armed men, they ſoon abandoned open fighting and fled to the mountains. From a war it degenerated into a hunt. Many of the Indians who were taken had both their hands cut off, and were told by the Spaniards to carry thoſe letters to their lords, i. e. to ſhow what mutilation they had ſuffered, that it might inſpire general terror. Nor was it only by

twos or threes that they ſuffered: on one occaſion ſix or ſeven hundred priſoners were put to the ſword at once. Haraſſed in every way the poor Indians at laſt ſought to make terms; and it was agreed that as a condition of peace they ſhould conſtruct in their territory a great manufactory of Caſabi bread for the Spaniards. They were not, however, to be required to come with the bread to St. Domingo, which ſervice they were very glad to avoid.

Higuey ſubdued.

Amongſt the chiefs who came to do reverence to the Captain-general was Cotubano the principal Cacique of thoſe parts. He was a man of great bodily force and courage, and was ſo eſteemed that the Captain-general did not think it derogatory to exchange names with him. This practice of exchanging names, meant for a ſign of perpetual love and amity, was an Indian cuſtom. The perſons ſo exchanging names were called "Guatiaos;" and I imagine the relationſhip was conſidered in ſomewhat of the ſame light as that of foſter brethren amongſt the Iriſh. It ſhows a degree of refinement which we might not have expected; but it is not, perhaps, in the affections that civilization finds the moſt to change and to develope.

The war with the inhabitants of Higuey was thus ſucceſsfully brought to a cloſe; welcome

news for Ovando in whoſe favour it may be noted, that he is ſaid to have given ſuch inſtructions to the Captain-general as ſhowed that he wiſhed for peace; though peace was only arrived at through ſuch fearful cruelties.

The Governor's greateſt difficulty, at this period of his adminiſtration, was to know how to ſupport the Caſtilian population; and this difficulty would have been felt ſtill more urgently but for the great mortality we have mentioned, and the return of many men in thoſe veſſels which were ſent back to Spain in the fleet that periſhed. The ſtores which Ovando had brought with him from Spain were now exhauſted; and the Spaniards began to ſuffer greatly from hunger. They were compelled to eat all manner of uncleanly things. The Indians alſo ſuffered from this famine, for they had not put in the uſual crops (their ſuicidal mode, as we have ſeen before, of getting rid of their Spaniſh viſitors) and in conſequence of the famine, it is ſtated, new diſeaſes made their appearance both amongſt the native population and the Spaniards.

Another great difficulty for the Governor was, that the Indians would have little or no communication with the Chriſtians. Ovando ſtated that this averſion of the Indians was the reſult of the

Indians avoid the Spaniards.

freedom which had been declared for them. But Las Caſas with more probability aſſerts that the Indians never knew anything about this declaration of their freedom; and that they ſhunned the Spaniards as naturally as ſparrows the ſparrow-hawk. It is eaſy to ſee that this conduct of the Indians would appear to preſent a great hindrance to their converſion, a circumſtance which Ovando did not omit to mention to Los Reyes when he laid the matter before them. He would probably take care alſo to point out the difficulty of procuring gold, or making proſperous ſettlements, while the Indians thus ſtood apart.

The Catholic Sovereigns, in a reply dated the 20th December, 1503, direct Ovando to compel the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards, and to work for them at ſuch wages as he ſhall think fit. Los Reyes further order, that the Indians ſhall work under the guidance of their Caciques; that they ſhall go and hear maſs and be inſtructed in the Faith—and that they ſhall do all theſe things "as free perſons, for ſo they are." Ferdinand and Iſabella were great Princes, and very ſagacious ones; but it was beyond their power and their wiſdom to combine ſuch orders with freedom for their Indians. Ovando works out the ſyſtem in this way: he diſtributes Indians

1503.

Fatal order of Los Reyes.

amongſt the Caſtilians, giving to one man fifty, to another a hundred, and ſo on; with a deed that ran thus, "To you, ſuch a one, is given an *encomienda* "of ſo many Indians with ſuch a Cacique, and "you are to teach them the things of our ſacred "Catholic Faith."* The word *encomienda* which will now be more frequently uſed than *repartimiento*, was a term belonging to the Military Orders, correſponding to our word, commandery, or preceptory; and this term naturally enough came in with the government in the Indies, of men who held authority in thoſe orders, ſuch as Bobadilla and Ovando. As regards the implied condition of teaching the Indians the "ſacred Catholic Faith," it was no more attended to from the firſt, than any formal clauſe in a deed which is ſuppoſed by the parties concerned to be the mere fringe of the matter; and, indeed, to be put in chiefly to gratify the lawyers.

Climax of repartimiento.

We have now come to the climax of the *repartimiento* ſyſtem. That which Bobadilla did illegally, is now done with proper formalities on parchment: and many a dreary day will intervene

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* A vos fulano ſe os encomiendan tantos Indios, en tal Cacique, y enſeñaldes las coſas de nueſtra ſanta Fé Catolica. *Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 11.

before the ſtateſmen moſt anxious for humanity will be able to reduce this gigantic evil in the leaſt. We may notice again that the firſt *repartimientos* made by Columbus were very different in principle to the *encomiendas* of Ovando, though in practice the two things might ultimately have come to much the ſame reſult. Columbus apportioned to any Spaniard, whom he thought fit, ſuch and ſuch lands, to be worked by ſuch a Cacique and his people—a very different procedure to giving men—a feudal ſyſtem as Muñoz juſtly calls it, not a ſyſtem of ſlavery.

Let no one ſay that the Indians were to be blamed for keeping away from the Spaniards, or that this averſion of theirs to join their invaders, ſhewed any inaptneſs for civilization. Such arguments were of great force in thoſe days, but are worth nothing. Theſe Indians were in the main well off before: and what did the ſo-called civilization of the Spaniards offer them? What peace, what love, what beauty or holineſs of life did they ſee amongſt the Spaniards that ſhould have tempted any ſane Indian to wiſh to be amongſt theſe new men—eſpecially to take up the part of ſervants to them? The civilized man did not then poſſeſs thoſe fire-waters which are now ſo potent in attracting and clearing off the ſavages adjacent to

the outſkirts of civilization. The Indians had already what diſtraction could be got out of certain herbs and fruits, and were not obliged to go to the Spaniards for thoſe alluring inſanities. The implements, dreſs and toys of the Spaniards might have had ſome attraction for the Indians, but ſurely not enough to conquer their reaſonable diſtaſte for Spaniſh bloodhounds. And as for any inducements which the Spaniſh religion held out to the Indians, we may judge how far they were underſtood, or eſtimated, by the ſtory of Hatuey, Cacique of a part of Cuba, who kept ſpies at Hiſpaniola to tell him of the goings on there of the Spaniards. He feared that they would come, as they afterwards did, to his territory; ſo calling his people together, and recounting the cruelties of the Spaniards, he ſaid that they did all theſe things for a great lord whom they loved much, which lord he would now ſhow to them. Forthwith he produced a ſmall baſket filled with gold. "Here is the lord whom they "ſerve and after whom they go, and, as you "have heard, already they are longing to paſs "over to this place, not pretending more than to "ſeek this lord; wherefore, let us make to him "here a feſtival and dances, ſo that when they "come, he may tell them to do us no harm."*

Idol of the Chriſtians.

The Indians approved this counſel and danced round the gold till they were exhauſted, when the Cacique turned to them and ſaid that they ſhould not keep the god of the Chriſtians anywhere, for were it even in their entrails, it would be torn out, but that they ſhould throw it in the river, that the Chriſtians might not know where it was. "And ſo," ſays the account, "they threw it."

There is ſomething ſo ironical in this ſtory that it almoſt looks as if it had been intended by ſome good Dominican as a ſatire on his pariſhioners; and it may have crept into hiſtory without good warrant. Still we ſhall probably not be wrong in concluding that the inducements held out either by the religion, or the polity, which the Spaniards exhibited in the Indies were not ſuch as to lead any Indian to give up his freedom willingly and come and live in fellowſhip with them and their dogs. An impartial obſerver would have thought much more ſlightly of the mental powers of the Indians if they had ſhown this willingneſs: and he would have pronounced thoſe Indians the wiſeſt

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* Veis aqui ſu ſeñor a eſte ſirven, y tras eſte andã, y como aueys oydo, ya quieren paſſar aca, no pretendiendo mas de buſcar eſte ſeñor, y por tanto hagamos le aqui fieſta, y bayles, porque quando vengan, les diga que no nos hagã mal. *Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 3.

who betook themſelves at once to the remoteſt and moſt inacceſſible parts of the iſland, or by war or artifice, ſtrove to the uttermoſt to get rid of their invaders.

Before Los Reyes had authorized Ovando to give repartimientos of the peaceful Indians of Hiſpaniola, the monarchs had iſſued an edict allowing the capture of Cannibals when rebels. In this edict are recounted the ſteps that had previouſly been taken on behalf of theſe Cannibals,—how it had been forbidden to capture them, how ſome that had been captured had been ſent back; yet as they ſtill perſevere in their idolatrous and cannibal ways, (*idolatrando y comiendo los dichos Indios*) it is now declared by Iſabella that if the Cannibals will not receive her Captains and liſten to them in order to be inſtructed in the Faith, and to be in her ſervice and under her ſway, they may be made captives of.* As might be expected, this permiſſion to capture Cannibals led to great abuſe.

But we muſt return to Hiſpaniola, where worſe things than capturing Cannibals are about to take place. Before entering, however, upon that part of Ovando's adminiſtration, which it is

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2, p. 414.

impoſſible not to condemn, we muſt premiſe that in his government of the Spaniards he ſeems to have been exceedingly ſucceſsful. He fully acted up to Ferdinand's advice of coming down upon malefactors like a thunderbolt. If there were a turbulent perſon, an incipient Roldan for inſtance, Ovando would ſend for him on ſome fair pretext, juſt when there happened to be veſſels returning to Spain. Then inviting him to dinner, he would talk with him about his neighbours and their eſtates, and enquire on what terms they lived with each other. The unwary coloniſt exults in thinking that he is now in high favour with the Governor and likely to have more Indians allotted to him: when ſuddenly Ovando turns upon him with this queſtion. "In which of "thoſe ſhips (probably viſible from where they were ſitting) would you like to go to Caſtile?" The roſy look of a man who thinks he ſhall get more Indians changes to the paleneſs of one who is about to be ſent home ruined to his friends. He falteringly aſks "why, my Lord?" The ſtern Comendador Mayor anſwers "You have nothing elſe to do but to go." "But, my Lord, I have not the wherewithal, not even for my paſſage." "It ſhall be my care to provide for that" anſwers the Governor: and in this ſummary manner he

Ovando's mode of weeding the Colony.

ſhips his man off at once, and thus clears the Colony of a poſſible nuiſance.*

Ovando's dealings with the Province of Xaragua.

Ovando's treatment of the Indians was equally ſwift and immeaſurably more ſevere. The greateſt ſtain upon his adminiſtration is his conduct to Anacaona, the Queen of Xaragua. My readers will recollect how well this Indian Queen and her Brother received the Admiral's Brother, Don Bartholomew, on a former occaſion. The Spaniards then affirmed her to be a wiſe woman, of good manners, and pleaſant in company; and ſhe is ſaid to have earneſtly perſuaded her brother to take warning by the fate of her huſband Caonabó, and to love and obey the Chriſtians. As ſhe is now to play the hoſteſs again, we may as well turn to the account of her former reception of a Spaniſh Governor, of which we happen to have ſome details furniſhed by Peter Martyr.

After mentioning that the Queen and her brother received the Lieutenant with all courteſy and honour, he ſays "They brought our "men to their common hall, into which they "come together as often as they make any nota- "ble games or triumphs, as we have ſaid before. "Here after many dancings, ſingings, maſkings, "runnings, wreſtlings, and other trying of maſ-

* Las Caſas Hiſt. de las Indias. *MSS.* Segunda Parte, cap. 40.

" tries, ſuddenly there appeared in a large plain
" near unto the hall, two great armies of men of
" war, which the King for his paſtime had cauſed
" to be prepared, as the Spaniards uſe the play
" with reeds, which they call ' Juga de Canias.'
" As the armies drew near together, they aſſailed
" the one the other as fiercely, as if mortal ene-
" mies with their banners ſpread, ſhould fight for
" their goods, their lands, their lives, their liberty,
" their country, their wives and their children, ſo
" that within the moment of an hour, four men
" were ſlain, and many wounded. The battle
" alſo ſhould have continued longer, if the king
" had not, at the requeſt of our men, cauſed
" them to ceaſe." *

The Indian tournament.

At this time, in the year 1503, ſome of Roldan's men were ſettled in the province of Xaragua; and a troubleſome brood they were. Herrera ſays in a quiet ſarcaſtic way, " they lived in " the diſcipline they had learnt from Roldan," and the governing powers of Xaragua found them " intolerable." As might be expected, there were conſtant diſturbances between theſe Spaniards and the Indians; and the Spaniards took care to round into the Governor's ear that the Indians of

1503.

* Dec. 1, lib. 6, Eden's tranſlation.

Xaragua intended to rebel. Perhaps they did ſo intend. Ovando reſolved, after much conſultation, to take a journey to Xaragua. We muſt ſay for Ovando, that this does not look as if he thought the matter were a light one. Xaragua was ſeventy leagues from St. Domingo. Ovando ſet out well accompanied, with 70 horſemen and 300 foot ſoldiers. Anacaona, who had probably ſome ſuſpicion, ſummons all her feudatories around her "to do honour" to the Governor, for ſhe has heard of his coming. She goes out to meet him with a concourſe, ſinging and dancing: juſt as in former days ſhe had met the Lieutenant. All ſorts of pleaſures and amuſements are provided for the ſtrangers, and probably, Anacaona thought, in her innocent way, that ſhe had quite ſoothed and pleaſed this ſevere-looking Governor as ſhe had the laſt. But theſe former followers of Roldan were about the Governor, telling him that there certainly was an inſurrection at hand, that if he did not look to it now, and ſuppreſs it at once, the revolt would be far more difficult to quell when it did break out. Thus they argued, uſing all thoſe ſeemingly wiſe arguments of wickedneſs which from time immemorial have commenced and perpetuated treachery. Ovando liſtens to theſe men, indeed muſt have been much in-

clined to believe them, or he would hardly have come all this way. He is now convinced that an inſurrection is intended.

With theſe thoughts in his mind, he ordered that, on a certain Sunday after dinner, all the cavalry ſhould get to horſe on the pretext of a tournament. The infantry, too, he cauſed to be ready for action. He himſelf, a Tiberius in diſſembling, goes to play at quoits and is diſturbed by his men coming to him and begging him to look on at their ſports. Poor Anacaona abſolutely jumps into the trap prepared for her. She tells the Governor that her Caciques, too, would like to ſee this tournament, upon which, with demonſtrations of pleaſure, he bade her come with all her Caciques to his lodgings, for he wanted to talk to them, intimating, as I conjecture, that he would explain the game to them. Meanwhile, he gave his Cavalry orders to ſurround his lodgings; he placed the Infantry at certain points; and told his men that when, in talking with the Caciques, he ſhould put his hand in his ſcarf (the thing from which probably hung his Alcantara order of knighthood,) they ſhould ruſh in and bind the Caciques and Anacaona. It fell out as he had planned. All theſe deluded Indian chiefs and their Queen were ſecured; ſhe

Ovando's tournament.

alone was led out of the lodgings which were then ſet fire to, and all the chiefs burnt alive. Anacaona was afterwards hanged and the province was deſolated.

Humanity does not gain much after all by this man's not taking the title of "Lordſhip," which he had a right to.

Finally, the Governor collects the Roldanites of Xaragua into a town there and calls it "the "city of the true peace" (*La villa de la vera Paz*) which a modern Chronicler well ſays might more properly have been named "Aceldama, the field "of blood."* I obſerve that the arms aſſigned to this new ſettlement are a dove with the olive branch, a rainbow and a croſs.

Higuey again in revolt.

The next occaſion Ovando had to chaſtiſe the Indians was upon another outbreak in the province of Higuey,—that province which we have ſeen reduced to obedience by Juan de Eſquibel. The Indians of this diſtrict had agreed to make bread for the Spaniards, but not to carry it to St. Domingo. This was now endeavoured to be impoſed upon them. Las Caſas is convinced from his experience, that the conduct of the little garriſon which had been left in Higuey was diſorderly and licentious, according to the uſual faſhion of

* Captain Southey, Hiſt. of the Weſt Indies, vol. 1, p. 93.

the invaders. The reſult was, that the Indians roſe and attacked the fort, burnt it, and put to death the garriſon with the exception of one who eſcaped to tell the news. The Governor inſtantly proclaimed war, and gave Juan de Eſquibel the command. The war was carried on in the accuſtomed way, as regards the unavailing efforts of the Indians, and with more than the accuſtomed ferocity on the part of the conquering Spaniards. There were ſome ſignal inſtances of valour ſhown by the Indians. On one occaſion, where Las Caſas was an eye-witneſs, a naked Indian with only his bow and arrows maintained, unhurt, a cloſe conteſt with a well-armed Spaniard, to the admiration of both armies ſtanding aloof to behold the engagement. The Indians, however, found their chief ſafety in flight; and it is recorded that thoſe whom the Spaniards compelled to act as guides and whom they kept attached to them by ropes, often threw themſelves off the precipices and thus balked their maſters. Unfortunately, amongſt the Spaniards themſelves, were men who had become quite ſkilful in tracking Indians; ſo much ſo, that from the turn of a withered leaf, they could detect which way a party had gone of thoſe they hunted after. The cruelty wreaked by the Spaniards upon their captives was exceſſive. They uſed the ſame mode

of ſending terror amongſt the Indians which had been adopted in the former war; namely, cutting off the hands of their captives. Las Caſas mentions that on one occaſion they hanged up thirteen Indians "in honour and reverence of Chriſt our "Lord and his twelve Apoſtles." Theſe men hanging at ſuch a height that their feet could juſt touch the ground, were uſed as dumb figures for the Spaniards to try their ſwords upon. This hideous cruelty Las Caſas ſays he ſaw, but at the ſame time he adds with a ſhrinking which all will feel to be natural, that he fears to relate theſe things now, hardly being able to perſuade himſelf but that he muſt have dreamt them. On another occaſion he ſaw ſome Indians being burnt alive in a ſort of wooden cradle. Their cries diſturbed the Spaniſh Captain taking his ſieſta in his tent; and he bade the Alguazil who had the charge of the execution, to diſpatch the captives. This officer, however, only gagged the poor wretches, who thus fulfilled their martyrdom in the way he originally intended for them. "All this I ſaw "with my bodily mortal eyes,"* emphatically exclaims our witneſs for the fact.

Barbarities in Higuey.

* Todo eſto yo lo vide con mis ojos corporales mortales. *Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias, Segunda Parte,* cap. 17.

And here I muſt ſay for Las Caſas, that I have not the ſlighteſt doubt of the truth of any ſtatement which he thus vouches for. He manifeſts, throughout, in various little things his accuracy and truthfulneſs. For inſtance, he is careful to point out the exact pronunciation of the Indian names. He ſhows a fair appreciation of thoſe perſons he is moſt bitterly oppoſed to: as, for example, he ſays of this Governor Ovando, that he was a man fit to govern, but not Indians—which is much the ſame concluſion that we ſhall probably come to ourſelves in reviewing his government.

But to return to Higuey. Notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Spaniards, Cotubano, the chief Cacique, the ſame who exchanged names with Juan de Eſquibel, remained untaken; and the ſubjection of the province was therefore conſidered incomplete. This Cacique had retired to the little iſland of Saona where he had his ſpies who watched out for the approach of the Spaniards. One day theſe ſpies, two in number, were ſeized. One was put to death, the other made to ſerve as a guide. The Spaniards hurried off in different directions, each anxious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the capture: at laſt one of them, Juan Lopez Labrador, came ſuddenly upon twelve

Indians, marching in a line one after another. The Spaniard aſked for Cotubano: the Indians ſaid he was the laſt of the line; and the poor frightened wretches made way for the Spaniard, who dealt a blow with his ſword at the Cacique which he received with his hands that were thus cut off, or at leaſt rendered nearly uſeleſs. The other Indians fled, and the Spaniard ſeizing Cotubano by the throat, and with a ſword pointed to his body, was carrying him off captive when the Cacique made a ſudden ſpring on one ſide to avoid the ſword; then, maimed as he was, ruſhed on Labrador, got him down and was on the point of ſlaying him when a party of Spaniards came to the reſcue. They ſtruck Cotubano down ſenſeleſs, took up their almoſt lifeleſs comrade, and afterwards conveyed the Cacique to St. Domingo where he was hanged by order of the Governor.

Capture and death of Cotubano.

Higuey was now conſidered to be at peace, and two ſettlements were made in it, called Salvaleon and Santa Cruz.

Meanwhile the news of Anacaona's puniſhment has reached Spain; and we may imagine how wrathful Iſabella is on hearing of ſuch things, for, with all her ſweetneſs, ſhe is capable of ſtern

and fierce thoughts. Ovando, we are told, ſtrove much to juſtify himſelf; but the Queen was minded to make "a great demonſtration," (theſe are the very words) and ſhe is reported to have ſaid to the Preſident of the Council, "I will have ſuch a "*reſidencia* taken as never was before."

Nevertheleſs, Ovando maintained his place, probably on account of the Queen's illneſs, which began to be ſevere in Auguſt, 1504: and this is the laſt we ſhall hear of Iſabella in the conduct of the affairs of the Indies. 1504.

It was at this time, late in the year 1504, that Columbus returned to Spain after his fourth voyage, which had proved very diſaſtrous. Poor, old, infirm, he had now to receive intelligence which was to deepen all his evils. He remained at Seville, too unwell to make a journey himſelf, but ſent his ſon Diego to Court to manage his affairs for him. The complaints of the Admiral that he has no news from Court are quite touching. He ſays he deſires to hear news each hour. Couriers are arriving every day, but none for him: his very hair ſtands on end to hear things ſo contrary to what his ſoul deſires.* Columbus returns to Spain after his laſt voyage.

* Muchos correos vienen cada dia, y las nuevas acá ſon tantas y tales que ſe me encreſpan los cabellos todos de las oir tan al revés de lo que mi ánima deſea. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 338.

In his paper of inſtructions to his ſon of things to be done, the firſt is, to "commend affection-"ately, with much devotion," the ſoul of the Queen to God. Could the poor Indians but have known what a friend to them was dying, one continued wail would have gone up from Hiſpaniola and all the iſlands. The dread decree, however, had gone forth; and on the 26th of November, 1504, it was only a prayer for the departed that could be addreſſed; for the great Queen was no more. If it be permitted to departing ſpirits to ſee thoſe places on earth they yearn much after, we might imagine that the ſoul of Iſabella would give "one longing lingering "look" to the far Weſt.

Iſabella's death.

And if ſo, what did ſhe ſee there? How different the aſpect of things from what governors and officers of all kinds had told her: how different from aught that ſhe had thought of, or commanded! She had ſaid that the Indians were to be free: ſhe would have ſeen them ſlaves. She had declared that they were to have ſpiritual inſtruction: ſhe would have ſeen them leſs inſtructed than the dogs. She had inſiſted that they ſhould receive pay: ſhe would have found that all they received was a mockery of wages,

juſt enough to purchaſe once, perhaps, in the courſe of the year, ſome childiſh trifles from Caſtile. She had always ordered kind treatment and proper maintenance for them: ſhe would have ſeen them literally watching under the tables of their maſters, to catch the crumbs which fell there. She would have beheld the Indian labouring at the mine under cruel buffetings, his family neglected, periſhing, or enſlaved; ſhe would have marked him on his return after eight months of dire toil enter a place which knew him not, or a houſehold that could only ſorrow over the gaunt creature who had returned to them, and mingle their ſorrows with his; or, ſtill more ſad, ſhe would have ſeen Indians who had been brought from far diſtant homes, linger at the mines, too hopeleſs, or too careleſs, to return.

Turning from what might have been ſeen by Queen Iſabella, had her departing gaze pierced to the outſkirts of her dominions, we may note what were her lateſt proviſions in their behoof. Her will, as regards Ferdinand, was to this effect:—ſhe bequeathed the Regency of Caſtile to him in caſe of certain ſpecified contingencies; and ſhe left him half the produce of the Indies, and a definite ſum charged upon the three military orders—both of theſe legacies being

limited to his life-time. The following are her words touching the conduct ſhe wiſhed to be purſued to the Indians. After declaring that the ground on which they (the Catholic Sovereigns) had received theſe kingdoms from the Pope, was to bring the people to Chriſtianity. "Wherefore," ſhe goes on to ſay, "I very affec-
"tionately ſupplicate my Lord the King, and
Words in Iſabella's will touching the Indians.
"charge and command my ſaid daughter (Ju-
"ana) that they act accordingly, and that this
"(the converſion of the Indians) ſhould be their
"principal end, and that in it they ſhould have
"much diligence, and that they ſhould not con-
"ſent, or give occaſion, that the Indians who
"dwell in thoſe iſlands or on the Terra-firma,
"gained, or to be gained, ſhould receive any in-
"jury in their perſons or goods, but ſhould
"command that they be well and juſtly treated.
"And if the Indians have received any injury,
"they (the King and her daughter Juana) ſhould
"remedy it, and look that they do not infringe
"in any reſpect that which is enjoined and com-
"manded in the words of the ſaid conceſſion (of
"the Pope)."*

Having thus tranſcribed the injunctions of

* For a copy of the will, ſee Mariana Hiſt. gen. de Eſpaña. Valencia 1796, tom. 9, Apendices.

this pious and admirable Princeſs, we have to return, with ſomewhat of a foreboding mind, to the hiſtory of thoſe poor Indians to whom ſhe meant ſo kindly.

This bequeſt of Iſabella's of half the revenues of the Indies was not well-adviſed. We are told that Ferdinand attended more to profit from the Indies than to the preſervation of them. This ſtatement is probably much exaggerated; but certainly to leave a portion of the proceeds, for life only, of ſuch an eſtate, was not the way to enſure its being well adminiſtered. Still, it would be laying too much ſtreſs upon this bequeſt, to attribute any very remarkable conſequences to it. We are to conſider the troubles and confuſions which enſued in Spain on Iſabella's death, making it almoſt impoſſible for Ferdinand, or anybody elſe, to give the requiſite attention to the affairs of the Indies. The ſtory of theſe troubles is well known, but we may as well briefly recapitulate it. The Caſtilian nobles did not wiſh to have Ferdinand for their maſter. If it was only on account of being tired of his rule, (whether it were good or bad) that was, perhaps, enough. Negociations enſued between Ferdinand and his ſon-in-law Philip which led to no amicable reſult. Ferdinand was nearly ſucceſsful in procuring a

Changes in the Government of Spain.

paper ſigned by Juana conſtituting him Regent, which being diſcovered by Philip, he immediately placed his wife in confinement. Ferdinand reſolved to marry again, and allied himſelf to the French king, taking to wife Germaine de Foix, niece of that monarch. Upon this Philip came to terms with Ferdinand; and an agreement was made by which the Regency of Caſtile was ſhared between them.

1506. In 1506, Philip came over with Juana to Spain; and, notwithſtanding the compact mentioned above, demanded the ſole authority over the kingdom which had deſcended to his wife. A large majority of the Spaniſh nobles ſiding with Philip, the old King had to give way; and he went to viſit his newly-conquered kingdom of Naples. Philip lived but a ſhort time to enjoy the exerciſe of his authority; for in three months after gaining poſſeſſion of the Caſtilian Crown, he

Philip dies. ſuddenly fell ill at Burgos and died there, the 25th of October, 1506.

A few months before, a much more important perſon in our hiſtory had alſo departed this life. Columbus, ſince his return from his fourth voyage to the Indies, had done little elſe than memorialize, and petition, and negociate, about his rights and his claims. The proverb, "Fear old age,

" for it does not come alone,"* was eſpecially applicable to him, ſuffering ſickneſs without elaſticity to bear it, poverty with high ſtation and debt, and all the delay of ſuitorſhip, not at the beginning, but at the cloſe, of a career. A ſimilar decline of fortune is to be ſeen in the lives of many men ; of thoſe, too, who have been moſt adventurous and ſucceſsful in their prime. Their fortunes grow old and feeble with themſelves; and thoſe clouds which were but white and ſcattered during the vigour of the day, ſink down together ſtormful and maſſive, in huge black lines, acroſs the ſetting ſun.

Shortly after the arrival of Philip and his Queen in Spain, Columbus wrote to their highneſſes, deploring his not being able to come to them through illneſs, and ſaying that, notwithſtanding his pitileſs diſeaſe, (the gout) he could yet do them ſervice the like of which had not been ſeen.† Perhaps he meant ſervice in the way of good advice touching the adminiſtration of the Indies ; perhaps, for he was of an indomitable ſpirit, that he could yet make more voy-

* Time Senectutem ; non enim ſola venit.

† Bien que eſta enfermedad me trabaja así agora ſin piedad, que yo les puedo aun ſervir de ſervicio que no ſe haya viſto ſu igual. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 3, núm. lxii.

ages of discovery. But there was now only left for him that voyage in which the peasant who has seen but the little district round his home, and the great travellers in thought and deed, are alike to find themselves upon the unknown waters of further life. Looked at in this way, what a great discoverer each of us is to be. But we must not linger too long, even at the deathbed of a hero. Having taken all the sacraments of the church, and uttering as his last words, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*," Columbus died, at Valladolid, on Ascension Day, the 20th of May, 1506. His body was carried to Seville and buried in the monastery of Las Cuevas; his remains were afterwards removed to the Cathedral at St. Domingo, and in modern times were taken to the Cathedral at Havannah, where they now are.

1506. Columbus dies.

Ferdinand ordered an Epitaph to be inscribed for Columbus at Seville, which tells in the fewest words that he had given a new world to Castile and Leon.

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dió Colon.

The death of Columbus is the most memorable event which occurred in Spain between the time of Philip's landing and his decease. That

king being dead, there could now be no reaſonable oppoſition to Ferdinand: Juana was quite incompetent; Charles but a boy; and ſo we have again one of the warieſt of monarchs to adminiſter the affairs of Spain and the Indies.

During the interval between Iſabella's death in 1504 and the reſtoration of King Ferdinand to the Regency of Caſtile in 1506, there are, as may be expected, but few documents relating to the government of the Indies. One letter, however, exiſts of much importance. Not long after Ovando had come to the government of Hiſpaniola, we are told that he "ſolicited that no "negro ſlaves ſhould be ſent to Hiſpaniola, "for they fled amongſt the Indians and taught "them bad cuſtoms, and never could be "caught."* We may, therefore, be ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at finding a letter from the King to Ovando dated Segovia, 15th of Sept. 1505, of the following tenor. "I will ſend you more "negro ſlaves as you requeſt, I think there "may be a hundred. At each time" (I ſuppoſe he means at each time of their going to the mines) "a truſtworthy perſon will go with them "who may have ſome ſhare in the gold they

Ovando does not want negroes in the Indies.

The King will ſend 100 negoes.

* Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 12.

" may collect, and may promiſe them eaſe if " they work well."† There is ſome appearance in this of Indians becoming ſcarce, or being found poor workers. It is alſo important to notice that negroes, in ſome numbers, were employed in the Indies much earlier than has been ſuppoſed.

We have ſeen that the troubled ſtate of Spain was one of the cauſes of the injury to the Indies which took place about this period. Another, doubtleſs was, that the knowledge of the Queen's death (the Queen having always been a vigorous defender of the natives) removed a wholeſome reſtraint from the Spaniſh Coloniſts. Moreover, it muſt be acknowledged that the evident tendency of ſuch a ſtate of things as the preſent, even under favourable adminiſtration, was downwards — ſo that even an Iſabella at the head of affairs, a true-hearted Columbus as Governor, with a Las Caſas ever at his ſide to plead the cauſe of the Indians, (had ſuch a concurrence been permitted,) would have had difficulty enough to prevent the preſent

† Puerto de la Plata.

El Rey a Obando——Segobia 15 de Setiembre de 1505. Embiare mas eſclavos negros como pedis, pienſo que ſean ciento. En cada vez hira una perſona fiable que tenga alguna parte en el oro que cogieren y les prometa alibio ſi trabajan bien. *M.SS. Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo* 90.

encomienda ſyſtem from going into great abuſe. A total change of ſyſtem, ſuch as with the experience of centuries we, if we were lookers on, might in this nineteenth century deviſe, would, perhaps, have averted the miſchief; or even ſuch a ſyſtem as that adopted by the Paraguay Miſſionaries. But that was not to be, and could hardly be expected. In Ferdinand's Government of the Indies, we ſhall find many proofs of ſagacity; many, too, of anxiety for the welfare of the Indians: and we muſt be careful not to lay any undue ſhare of blame upon this ſhrewd Monarch for the deterioration of the Indies which now took place.

One of the firſt things, however, which he did muſt have been miſchievous; and, indeed, Herrera puts it down as the beginning of the perdition of the iſland of Hiſpaniola; though, as we have ſeen, there was much reaſon to apprehend that ſuch perdition was impending anyhow, unleſs a totally new ſyſtem were adopted.

The troublous and perplexed times in Spain from Iſabella's death to Ferdinand's return from Naples to take the Regency, and for ſome time after, muſt have made many ſuitors for royal favour whom it were hard to deny. Ferdinand was not fond of giving, and with the great and coſtly affairs he was engaged in, ſeldom had much

to give. Indians, however, were now a ſort of money. The courtiers aſked for *repartimientos* of Indians—ſome purpoſing to go themſelves to Hiſpaniola and puſh their fortunes there, and others intending merely to farm their Indians out, as abſentee proprietors. Ferdinand did not reſiſt theſe applications; and though the Governor Ovando, probably aware of the miſchief, and alive to the inconvenience, remonſtrated as much as he dared, eſpecially againſt abſentee proprietors, there were many caſes in which he muſt have been obliged to give way. The mania for gold-finding was now probably at its height;* and the ſacrifice of Indian life proportionately great. At the ſame time that the King is chargeable with furthering this great miſchief of giving *repartimientos*, it is to be obſerved that he was not inattentive to thoſe things which were, or were ſuppoſed to be, the true intereſts of the colony. He promoted diſcovery; he encouraged the growth of the ſugar cane; he urged the building of churches (not too coſtly); he allowed all his ſubjects to trade to the Indies; (hitherto it had only been the Sevillians); he looked after the pearl

Courtiers obtain repartimientos.

* 470,000 peſos of gold were found annually.—*Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 18.

fiſheries; he took Amerigo Veſpucci into his ſervice; and in ſhort, like a prudent man, ſought to make the moſt of his eſtate, furthering humane things when they came in his way. As regards theſe *repartimientos*, he did not look upon them as final and irrevocable, but only as ſubſiſting during his pleaſure.*

As the Indians in Hiſpaniola were now beginning to grow ſcarce, the next thing we may expect to find is, that importations will be made from other iſlands to fill up the vacuum produced by the working at the mines, and by other cauſes. The firſt large importation of this kind furniſhes us with one of the moſt affecting narratives in hiſtory. Ferdinand was told that the Lucayan iſlands were full of Indians; and that it would be a very good thing to bring them to Hiſpaniola "that they might enjoy the preaching "and political cuſtoms" which the Indians in

Lucayans brought to Hiſpaniola.

* Valladolid 12 de Noviembre de 1509—Declaracion del poder del Almirante para el repartimiento de Yndios. 1509. Noviembre 12.

Don Ferdinando &c.—A vos el Almirante ſabeis que os dirigi la cedula ſiguiente (La va ſupra, folio 51-52) E por cuanto en ella no fue ſeñalado el tiempo que ſe havian de tener los Yndios repartidos: mando por eſta ſobre carta que los tengan cuanto nueſtra merced e voluntad fuere e no mas—Cumplaſe lo diſpueſto en la cedula que va incorporada.—*MSS. Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo* 90.

Hiſpaniola enjoyed. "Beſides, they might aſſiſt "in getting gold, and the King be much ſerved." The King gave a licence. The firſt Spaniards who went to entrap theſe poor Lucayans did it in a way that brings to mind our Engliſh proverb—"ſeething a kid in its mother's milk"—for they told theſe ſimple people that they had come from the heaven of their anceſtors, where theſe anceſtors and all whom the Indians had loved in life were now drinking in the delights of heavenly eaſe: and theſe good Spaniards would take the Lucayans in their ſhips to join their much-loved anceſtors, and dearer ones than anceſtors who had gone thither.* We may fancy how the more ſimple amongſt them, lone women and thoſe who felt this life to be ſomewhat dreary, crowded round the ſhips which were to take them to the regions of the bleſt. I picture to myſelf ſome ſad Indian, not without his doubts of theſe Spaniſh inducements,

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* Dixeron que yuã de la iſla Eſpañola ádonde las animas de ſus padres, y parientes, y de los que bien querian eſtauan en holgura, y que ſi querian yr a verlos, los llevarian en aquellos nauios, porque es coſa cierta, que las naciones de todas las Indias creyeron la inmortalidad del alma y que ſe yuan, muertos los cuerpos, a ciertos lugares deleytoſos, adonde ninguna coſa de plazer, y de conſuelo les faltava: y en algunas partes crehian, que primero padecian algunas penas por los pecados que en eſta vida avian hecho.—*Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 3.

but willing to take the chance of regaining the loved paſt, and ſaying like King Arthur to his friend Sir Bedivere upon the ſhore,

" I am going a long way
" With theſe thou ſeëſt ——— if indeed I go—
" (For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)
" To the iſland-valley of Avilion;
" Where falls not hail, or rain, or any ſnow,
" Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
" Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
" And bowery hollows crown'd with ſummer ſea,
" Where I will heal me of my grievous wound."

Alfred Tennyſon. Morte d'Arthur, vol. 2, p. 15.

This hideous pretence of the Spaniards did its work; but there were other devices, not mentioned to us, which were afterwards adopted; and the end was, that in five years forty thouſand of theſe deluded Lucayans were carried to Hiſpaniola. Moſt men in the courſe of their lives have rude awakenments which may enable them to form ſome notion of what it was, to come down from the hope of immediate paradiſe to working as a ſlave in a mine. Some lived on in patient deſpair; others of fiercer nature, refuſing ſuſtenance, and flying to dark caves and unfrequented places, poured forth their lives, and we may hope were now, indeed, with the bleſt. Others of more force and practical energy, " peradventure the wiſeſt" as Peter Martyr ſays,

made eſcape to the northerly parts of Hiſpaniola, and there with "arms outſtretched" towards their Country, lived at leaſt, to drink in the breezes from their native lands. Thoſe lands were now paradiſe to them.

A deſperate voyage homewards.

There is a tree in Hiſpaniola called the Yaurumá; a large, light, pithy tree. A Lucayan more enterpriſing than the reſt, who had been a carpenter in his own iſland, cut down one of theſe Yaurumá trees, hollowed it out, proviſioned the hollow part with maize and ſome calabaſhes of water; then put the ſtems of ſmaller trees acroſs the main trunk; then laſhed thoſe ſtems together with "*bexucos*," which are ſtringy roots like cords; and filling in well with leaves the interſtices between the ſtems, thus made ſomething of a raft.* He took on board with him another Indian man and a woman, both relations, and having provided themſelves with oars, away they paddled, having the North Star for their guide. There is always life in a ſtout-hearted action though long paſt; and one feels quite anxious now, as if they ſtill were on that ſea, to know what became of them. On they went, day after day, night after night; the loathed Hiſpaniola had long been out

* Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias, dec. 1. lib. 7, cap. 3.

of ſight; they had already gone two hundred miles. "Cheer up, ſiſter Indian, not many morn-"ings will dawn upon us 'ere we ſee our own "dear land again." But what is that black thing in the diſtance? No land of home—but one of thoſe accurſed caravels coming, perhaps, with more Lucayans. It has already ſeen our raft, and the bold wanderers are again in the power of their adverſaries, are again on their hateful way to Hiſpaniola.

Treaſure up all theſe things, reader: you will afterwards find much controverſy as to the capability of theſe Indians, which queſtion you may be able to ſolve without Dr. Sepulveda, or Las Casas, or any theologiſt or ſtateſman whatever.

This Lucayan enormity is one of the laſt acts mentioned of Ovando's government. Diego Columbus had for ſome time paſt been urging the King to give him the rights which he claimed as his father's heir. He was enabled to urge his claim with more effect, having married Maria de Toledo a grand Niece of the King's and Niece of the Duke of Alva. The King allowed Don Diego's cauſe to be heard in the courts. "Let "right be done," as we ſay here when the ſovereign gives permiſſion that a cauſe againſt the Crown ſhall be heard in the courts of law. And right

Don Diego Columbus appointed Governor.

was ſo far done as to appoint Don Diego Admiral and Governor of the Indies, but "without "prejudice" to the right of either party—that is, I imagine, as to whether the Governorſhip was to be hereditary in the family of Columbus or not.

The arrival of Don Diego Columbus in Hiſpaniola cloſes the adminiſtration of Ovando, an adminiſtration which received much praiſe from the Spaniards, even from thoſe who lived under it, who we are told in after years ſtill continued to regret this Governor's departure.

Character of Ovando's Government.

Thinking, however, on what the Indians muſt have ſuffered during his time, we cannot look on his adminiſtration, as a whole, otherwiſe than with profound regret and diſſatisfaction, though we muſt not lay the entire blame upon him and make him out to be a monſter in human form. The hiſtorian of St. Domingo* ſays it is remarkable that the Governors of the Indies, even thoſe who were noted as good men before, all turned out cruel tyrants. This uniformity might have ſuggeſted to the good father the ſtrength of the current of evil into which theſe men were thrown, and which, perhaps, none but a really great man could have ſtemmed.

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* Father Charlevoix.

To ſhew the extent of the evil which had taken place in Ovando's time, we can hardly do better than quote a letter of the King's written in May, about two months before the Ovando government ended. "You ſay," writes the King, "that "there are few Indians in this iſland and that it "will be well to bring them from other iſlands, "I now order the Governor that he ſhould pro- "vide for the mines as many Indians as may "be requiſite." *

"Few Indians!" "It is moſt populous," ſaid the firſt diſcoverer. There were twelve hundred thouſand ſouls, declares the ardent Las Caſas; and Herrera, not long ago, at the time of the treachery to Anacaona, ſpoke of the large numbers in her province of Xaragua.

We may well exclaim in indignation, Ovando, and the reſt of you Spaniſh Coloniſts and authorities, where are theſe Indians?

I am afraid that, anſwering what you can for deaths by famine and diſeaſe, and which you may put down as unavoidable, there ſtill remains

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* Reſpueſta y deſpacho al Gobernador y Oficiales de la Eſpañola que debian ir antes que el Almirante. Valladolid, 3 de Mayo de 1509. 1509. Mayo 3.

Decis que hay pocos Yndios en eſta Yſla y ſerá bien traer de otras, ya mando al Gobernador que probea para las minas todos los que ſean meneſter. *M.SS. Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 90.

a fearful number of your brethren of whom you cannot ſay that you were not the keepers. And brethren they were, though then, and it is ſome excuſe for you, you did not think ſo.

Advocate for Ovando.

Arraigned before the bar of hiſtory, as I have juſt imagined Ovando to be, we muſt hear what an advocate would ſay for him. He would tell us that this Governor did keep order amongſt the Spaniards; that he did not enrich himſelf, needing money even for his paſſage home; that what property he chanced to have in the iſland he left for charitable purpoſes; and that we hear of no private vice in him. Faultleſs to his order, faithful to his King, complete in panoply of perſonal virtue, with true Caſtilian dignity in his demeanour, ſo that to gain reſpect he needed not the title of Lordſhip, which in his humility he would not take—what is there to juſtify your condemnation of him?

And we on the other ſide ſhould anſwer, that that kind of character was not unknown to us which, free from the ſofter and the weaker vices and vanities, was yet fit to preſide over, or countenance, ſuch treachery as that of Xaragua, ſuch cruelties as thoſe in Higuey, ſuch tearings aſunder as thoſe in the Lucayan iſlands. And we ſhould add that he gave up the weak to the oppreſſion

of the ſtrong; that as theſe oppreſſed ones died away, he collected them together again, like a pack of cards,* and dealt them out anew to thoſe whom he favoured, thus mingling folly with cruelty, till nature pronounced againſt his government by its deſolation.

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* Las Caſas Hiſt. de las Indias. MSS. Segunda Parte, cap. xiv.

CHAPTER VI.

Don Diego Columbus.—The Dominicans.—The Laws of Burgos.

IN the midſt of the craſh of Dynaſties, the downfal of Kingdoms, and the wild havoc in great cities which prevails in theſe unquiet times,* any ſtudy of what was done a long while ago, which itſelf may not be dramatic, or at leaſt, not of the ſame livelineſs as the preſent proceedings in the world, and which derives moſt of its importance from the largeneſs of the reſult and not from the impoſing preſence of the means, ſeems ſomewhat tame and profitleſs. And, indeed, in all ſtirring periods, thoſe engaged in the ordinary affairs of life, ſtill more ſtudents, whether readers or writers, feel as if they had, ſomehow, been left behind; or as a man ſitting in a gloomy room confined by ill health or dull buſineſs, while at intervals comes in the merry noiſe of boiſterous children playing in the ſun.

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* A. D. 1848.

But theſe feelings and fancies are fallacious. Often, the importance of a thing lies altogether in the principle upon which it is done. The mere phyſical fate of empires, monarchies and popedoms, much leſs of mere ſwarms of thoughtleſs people, may not be equal in depth and ſignificance to one man's one ſin; nor, on the other hand, is a great example of duty performed, though of a ſimple character, (as we ſhall find in this coming chapter of the doings of ſome poor monks) to be poſtponed in conſideration to the moſt loud-ſounding battle-fields and ever ſo much frivolous ſlaughter. You ſee a ſimilar thing in fiction: an old Greek drama which ſhall have but one mind brought before you greatly tortured by conflicting paſſions and duties, preſents ſome picture of the univerſe to you, throws a ſudden light down into the abyſſes of human miſery and madneſs, and rivets your attention immeaſurably more than an ill-told, feebly-following tragedy in which the deaths are as numerous as the perplexed ſpectator can deſire.

Still leſs is the benefit which may be derived from the ſtudy of hiſtory to be meaſured by the noiſe and pageant of the thing; but by the examples it affords and the formation of character it gives riſe to. Men have not outgrown the aid which hiſtory might afford them: duty—political

duty — ſtill requires to be expounded and inculcated; greatneſs is not yet fully underſtood; and to revert to the image uſed above, the man who would come down from his dull chamber and play well with thoſe children in the ſun, had better have ſomewhat made up his mind in quiet of what it is well to play at, and what ſhould be the rules of the game.

So let us be content, in the midſt of all this tumult, to go on quietly and get the moſt we can out of a ſtory which will ſhow us what the vain doctrines and deſires of men, their cruelty, their piety and their charity, all mingling together, make of the new materials which a ſo-called "New World" affords them.

1509. Don Diego arrives at St. Domingo.

The new Governor Don Diego Columbus and his wife Maria de Toledo arrived at St. Domingo in July 1509. The iſland had not before been graced by a Spaniſh lady of her rank; and the arrival of the new Authorities was honoured by a large aſſemblage of the Coloniſts and grand feſtivities of various kinds. Behind all this ſcenic repreſentation of greatneſs, there was, as often happens, but little real power. The Governor did not poſſeſs the King's confidence (it is a queſtion whether any Viceroy would have had that) which was chiefly beſtowed upon the Treaſurer Paſſa-

monte. There was a correſpondence carried on between the King and this officer in cypher, which did not bode Don Diego much good, for Paſſamonte was a ſteady enemy of his. And Paſſamonte was only one out of many enemies to the new Governor both in Hiſpaniola and in Spain.

Before, however, we begin with the new Governor, let us ſee what became of Ovando. A *reſidencia* was held, as uſual, upon the late Governor and the two Alcaldes Mayores, which went off well and left no ſtain upon them. There was no *reſidencia* in this life, as Las Caſas remarks, about the matter of the Indians; and with regard to the Spaniards, if you could ſeparate their welfare from that of the Indians, it has always been acknowledged that Ovando managed them (the Spaniards) with much vigour and diſcretion. Indeed, there muſt have been ſomething good about Ovando. Las Caſas, a good judge of character, (a faculty by the way not in the leaſt incompatible with vivacity of nature like his) was evidently attached to Ovando. Would to God, he ſays, that the final judgment (not man's *reſidencia*) may have been favourable to him: for "in truth "I loved him, with the exception of thoſe errors "into which he fell through moral blindneſs."

Ovando's reſidencia.

There is a ſtory of Ovando from which we may, perhaps, infer that he was not deficient in

good-nature to thoſe about him. Some official perſon had been extravagant and was ruined. Ovando liked the man, and attending at the ſale of his effects, contrived to raiſe the prices ſo that all the debts were ſatisfied, every one ſtriving by exceſſive biddings to pleaſe the Governor. Not a very high-minded or correct proceeding this; but ſtill there is a good nature in it we might not have expected from ſo ſtern a man. He got home ſafely to Spain, and was well received by Ferdinand, but died a ſhort time after his arrival. He is ſaid to have written ſome account of his Government which has not yet reached poſterity; but, amongſt the treaſures which lie hid in Spaniſh libraries, it may ſtill be found, and will probably throw light upon theſe times. It would be curious to ſee what he ſays of ſome of the doings at Xaragua and elſewhere. Peace be with him. Happily he was to be judged by one who underſtood him infinitely better than he could his fellow-men, the Indians.

We turn now to the doings of Don Diego Columbus. The king's inſtructions to this Governor had been given partly in writing and partly verbally;* and, as regards the Indians, were to

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 8.
Navarrete, Coleccion, vol. 2, p. 327.

the following effect: that they ſhould be well treated, being made Chriſtians of, with much management, "little by little, without ſcandaliz- "ing them;" that they ſhould live together in ſettlements, each of them poſſeſſing a cottage and land for himſelf, which he ſhould not be allowed to part with for leſs than its juſt value; that they ſhould have their own magiſtrates, and be under the government of their Caciques. That, with regard to bringing Indians from other parts to Hiſpaniola, it might be done, if the Indians in queſtion were Caribs, or had made reſiſtance. That the Indians who worked in the mines ſhould be worked with moderation; and with that view, as the king heard that many of the Indians had died who were brought to Hiſpaniola, he would, for the firſt year, demand leſs tribute for each Indian, that ſo their maſters might demand leſs work from them.

Ferdinand's inſtructions to Diego Columbus.

Theſe laws of Ferdinand's are well intentioned, and to a certain extent ſagacious; but as they are all ſubject to the old ſyſtem of *repartimientos*, we muſt not hope much from them. It would, perhaps, have aſtoniſhed Ferdinand if any one had accuſed him of furthering ſlavery which he put ſo many reſtraints upon; but that one thing alone, the authority to bring Indians from

other parts to Hiſpaniola, however guarded, was ſure to lead to the greateſt abuſe. Who was to define reſiſtance? Who was to ſay whether reſiſtance had, or had not, been made?

New repartimientos again.

Don Diego began by giving *repartimientos* of Indians to himſelf, his wife, and to thoſe who had royal orders for theſe gifts; and we hear that the Indians were not treated better in this Governor's time than in Ovando's. They have much more to hope from a veſſel which arrives at St. Domingo in the year following, A. D. 1510, honoured in carrying the firſt Dominican friars who appeared in theſe lands. In this year, too, we have our earlieſt notice of Las Caſas, who ſings the firſt "new maſs" in the Indies.* As from this time forward, his doings will be frequently before us, it will be well to aſcertain who and what he is.

1510.

Las Caſas, his parentage and breeding.

Bartholomew Las Caſas was the ſon of Antonio Las Caſas one of Columbus's ſhipmates in his firſt voyage. Bartholomew was born in 1474. His father became rich and ſent him as a ſtudent to Salamanca, where he took a licentiate's degree. He came with Ovando to Hiſpaniola in 1502, was afterwards ordained prieſt, and now, at the age of 36, has juſt made his appearance on the ſtage of hiſtory. He was a very notable man:

* Herrera, Dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 12.

the utmoſt that friends or enemies, I imagine, could allege againſt him, was an over-fervent temperament. If we had to arrange the faculties of great men, we ſhould generally, according to our eaſy-working fancies, combine two characters to make our men of. And, in this caſe, we ſhould not be ſorry, if it might be ſo, to have a little of the wary Ferdinand nature intermixed with the nobler elements of Las Caſas. Conſidering, however, what great things Las Caſas ſtrove after, it is ungracious to dwell the leaſt more than is needful upon any defect or ſuperfluity of his. If he were at any time over-ardent, it was in a cauſe that might have driven any man charged with it beyond all bounds of prudence in indignation. His ardent nature had the merit of being as conſtant as it was ardent: he was eloquent, acute, truthful, bold, ſelf ſacrificing, pious. We need not do more in praiſe of ſuch a character than ſhow it in action.

In the whole courſe of Weſt Indian coloniza- 1511.
tion, a wiſe and humane forethought never could have been more wanted than now. Hiſpaniola was rapidly becoming depopulated of Indians; and on the mode of renewing the population we may almoſt ſay depended the future deſtinies of ſlavery. Ojeda and Nicueſſa had ſtarted upon their voyages, and though with their own ruin,

were to lay the foundations of the colony at Darien. Velazquez is to go over to Cuba this year; which is in its turn to be the ſtarting point of Hernando Cortes for ſtill wider diſcovery and conqueſt. And what are the orders iſſued at this important and intereſting period upon which ſo much depends? On the 6th of June of this year, the King writes thus "With reſpect to the doubt "about bringing Indians from the iſland of Tri- "nidad, look well if there is gold there, for you "know what the Indians ſuffer in changing them "from one place to another. Perhaps it will be "better to make uſe of them there, but do what "may ſeem beſt to you; and that more Indians "may be brought, proclaim a licence for doing "ſo without paying us the fifth of them: of "which we make a preſent to the inhabitants of "Hiſpaniola and San Juan.

1511. Letter of Ferdinand on importation of Indians.

"The converſion of the Indians is the prin- "cipal foundation of the conqueſt, that which "principally ought to be attended to. So act "that the Indians there may increaſe and not "diminiſh as in Hiſpaniola."*

This is a moſt unſatisfactory and vacillating

* "El Rey al Almirante." Sevilla 6 de Junio de 1511. *MSS. Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo* 90.

letter which it is not harſh to conſtrue ſhortly in this way " Get gold, humanely if you can, but " get gold and here are facilities for you." The king tries to waſh his hands of the ill conſequences in a letter of the next month, in which he ſays " take care that our conſcience be not burdened " and that the importation of Indians be without " danger to them and to our people. I feel " much the great loſs of people (Spaniſh people) " that Nicueſſa and Ojeda have had."*

Theſe are but uſeleſs words: how are you to enter a country, take a number of its people and tranſport them to another place, in any velvet manner? The only thing to be ſaid for the king is, that he was deeply engaged in wars and negotiations at home, and had to meet the expences conſequent thereon. Theſe poor Indians could little have conceived how much the troubles in the Italian ſtates concerned them, and were to be paid for by them.

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* Tordeſillas 25 de Julio de 1511—El Rey al Almirante etc. y Oficiales.

Cerca de la neceſitad de traer Yndios porque mueren muchos y no ſe multiplican he concedido que no ſe paguen el quinto: pero cuidado en la forma de traellos que no ſe cargue nueſtra conciencia y ſea ſin daño dellos y de los nueſtros. Siento la gran perdida de gente que han tenido Nicueſa y Ojeda: *MSS. Coleccion de Muñoz tomo* 90.

That we may better underſtand the proceſs by which Indians were now acquired, we may turn to a proclamation iſſued by the very Ojeda mentioned above, and which we are told by Herrera was the form uſed on ſimilar occaſions. "I, "Alonzo de Ojeda, ſervant of the very high "and powerful kings of Caſtile and Leon &c. "notify and make known to you the following "things."

Form of proclamation addreſſed to the Indians.

Firſt, the proclamation tells them of the creation of man, and of all men being of one race, but of their having diſperſed on account of their large increaſe, and having formed various provinces and nations. Then it declares how God gave charge of all theſe nations to one man called St. Peter, that he ſhould be the head of the human race, and have rule over them all, and fix his ſeat at Rome "as the fitteſt place for "governing the world." He was called Father, as the Father and Governor of all men. Then the proclamation goes on to ſay, how all the men of St. Peter's time obeyed him and took him for Lord, as likewiſe all men have obeyed his ſucceſſors and will continue to obey them to the end of time. Having now eſtabliſhed the Papal Power, the proclamation proceeds to inform the Indians, how a certain Pope gave to the Catholic

Sovereigns all theſe weſtern iſlands and this weſtern continent, as appears from certain writings which the Indians are told they may ſee if they like (*que podeis ver ſi quiſieredes*). Then, they are told how well other iſlands who have had this notice, have received his Majeſty and obeyed him, liſtening without any reſiſtance or delay to religious men, and becoming Chriſtians, and how kind his Majeſty has been to them. "Wherefore I entreat "and require you" ſays Ojeda, or any other privateering diſcoverer, "that after taking due "time to conſider this, you acknowledge the "church" as ſovereign lady of the world and "the Pope in her name, and His Majeſty, in his "place as Lord of theſe iſles and continent, and "receive theſe religious men. If you do, His "Majeſty will greet you with all love and affec-"tion and leave you your wives and children "free, and will give you many privileges and "exemptions. But if you do not, by the help of "God I will enter with power into your land and "will ſubdue you, and will take your wives and "children and make ſlaves of them, and ſell them "as ſuch, and take all your goods and do you "all the miſchief I can, as to Vaſſals that do not "obey and will not receive their Lord. And I "proteſt that all the death and deſtruction which

" may come from this is your fault, and not his " Majeſty's or mine, or that of my men."*

There is ſomething irreſiſtibly groteſque in this document. How remote and hazy muſt have been the conceptions of the Indians as to the meaning of the word " Church" (not an eaſy thing to explain at any time or to any people) or of ſuch things as " privileges" and " exemptions!" Theſe difficulties would not have been much ſmoothed either by tranſlation. But we muſt come to the ſerious part of the matter. Whenever this proclamation had no effect, and it was ſcarcely the intereſt of the proclaimers that it ſhould have, then hoſtilities commenced, and thoſe who were taken in war (" *Indios de guerra*," as they were called) were branded and made ſlaves, and the fifth part of them given to the King.†

Indians of war, how made.

If the Government of the Indians reſident in Hiſpaniola had been ever ſo good at this time, and if there had been ſuch communities as thoſe pictured in the King's inſtructions to Don Diego Columbus, ſtill what a great diſturbance this per-

* Herrera, Dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 14.

† " E quanto toca à eſto de la Guerra, no ai mas que decir al " preſente, ſino que todos los que en la Guerra ſe tomaron, ſe her- " raron, i ſe hicieron Eſclavos, de los quales ſe dió el quinto de " ſu mageſtad al Teſorero Baltaſar de Mendoça."—*Barcia Hiſtoriadores Primitivos*, vol. 1, p. 159.

petual introduction of ſlaves would have been to the well-being of the community. But I do not believe that any ſuch communities, as the King ſpeaks of, were formed at all at this time; and that the ſtate of the Indians at peace was moſt wretched, we ſhall ſoon have reaſon to conclude. Meanwhile, we muſt turn from the Indians for a ſhort time to the negroes.

Herrera ſpeaks in 1510 of the King having told the Admiral that he had given orders to the Officials at Seville that they ſhould ſend 50 negroes to work in the mines. We have already ſeen what the King had before ſaid to Ovando on the ſame point, and what number of ſlaves he had ſent over. In June 1511 we have a ſentence, in one of the King's letters to a man of the name of Sampier who held ſome office in the Colony, about the negroes "I do not underſtand how ſo "many negroes have died, take much care of "them."* In October of the ſame year we have an order from the King to his Officers at Seville ordering them to pay Ledeſma, one of the King's pilots, what was his due for the laſt voyage he had made at the king's command to carry negroes

1511. Negroes in the Indies.

* Sevilla 21 de Junio de 1511, El Rey à Sampier .... No entiendo como ſe han muerto tantos negros: Cuidadlos mucho.—*Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo* 90.

to Hiſpaniola.* I wiſh the reader to keep theſe facts in mind. They are mentioned now as they occurred at this period.

Returning to the Indians, we find that concern for them developing itſelf amongſt the Dominican fathers in Hiſpaniola, which is hereafter to have ſuch root in that brotherhood as almoſt to become one of the tenets of their faith. Grieved and aſtoniſhed and terrified muſt theſe good fathers have been at all they ſaw and heard. It was, no doubt, the daily talk at their convent: and at laſt they reſolved to ſpeak out their minds, come what would of it.

Theſe Dominican monks were about twelve or fifteen in number, living under the government of their Vicar, Peter de Cordova. Coming to a new country, they had deepened the ſeverity of their rules, ſo that it kept pace with the general hardneſs of living throughout the colony. One of their new rules was, that they would not aſk for bread, wine, or oil, except in caſes of ſickneſs: and their habitual fare was moſt ſcanty and of the

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* Burgos 24 de Octubre de 1511 — El Rey á los Oficiales de Sevilla.

Que á Pedro de Ledeſma nueſtro piloto paguen lo que ſe les deviere del ultimo viage que por nueſtro mandado hizo a llebar negros a la Eſpañola. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 90.

pooreſt deſcription. Being fully intent upon the work they had taken upon them, they would ſoon have comprehended, from their own obſervation, the extent of evil in the ſtate of things about them; but their inſight into the treatment of the Indians was rapidly enlarged and confirmed by the acquiſition of a new lay-brother. This was a man who had murdered his wife, an Indian woman, and then had fled to the woods, where he remained two years; but on the arrival of the Dominicans in the iſland, he ſought what refuge from his ſin and his ſorrow could be found under the ſhadow of their order. This man recounted to his brethren the cruelties he had been witneſs of: which narration may have brought them ſooner to the determination they now came to; namely, to make a ſolemn proteſt, againſt the ways of their countrymen with the Indians.

1511. The Dominicans try to preach down Indian ſlavery.

The good monks determined that their proteſt ſhould expreſs the general opinion of their body; and they accordingly agreed upon a diſcourſe to be preached before the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and ſigned their names to it. The fathers reſolved that Brother Antonio Monteſino ſhould be the perſon to preach it; a man, we are told, of great aſperity in reprehending vice. In order to enſure a fit attendance on the occaſion, the monks

took care to let the principal perſons of St Domingo know, that ſome addreſs of a remarkable kind (which concerned them much) was to be made to them, and their attendance was requeſted. The Sunday came; Father Antonio aſcended the pulpit, and took for his text a portion of the goſpel of the day, "I am the voice of one crying "in the wilderneſs."

We have only a ſhort account of the ſermon; but we may imagine that it was an energetic diſcourſe: for indeed, when anybody has anything to ſay, he can generally ſay it worthily. And here, inſtead of nice points of doctrine (over which, and not unreaſonably, men can become eloquent, ingenious, wrathful, intenſe) was an evil uplifting itſelf before the eyes of all men, and reſpecting which neither preacher nor hearers could entrench themſelves behind generalities. He told them that the ſterile deſert was an image of the ſtate of their conſciences: and then he declared with "very piercing and terrible words" (*palabras muy pungitivas y terribles*) that "the voice" pronounced that they were living in "mortal ſin" by reaſon of their tyranny to theſe innocent people, the Indians. What authority was there for the impoſition of this ſervitude? what juſt ground for theſe wars? How could the coloniſts

Father Antonio's ſermon.

rightly inſiſt upon ſuch cruel labours as they did from the Indians; neglecting all care of them both in the things of heaven and thoſe of earth? Such Spaniards had no more chance of ſalvation than Moors, or Turks.

We ſhall but put a worthy ending to Father Antonio's ſermon, if we conclude with ſome words from a very renowned preacher on the ſame ſubject and a like occaſion. "But you will ſay "to me, this people, this republic, this ſtate can- "not be ſupported without Indians. Who is to "bring us a pitcher of water, or a bundle of "wood? Who is to plant our mandioc? Muſt "our wives do it? Muſt our children do it? In "the firſt place, as you will preſently ſee, theſe "are not the ſtraits in which I would place you: "but if neceſſity and conſcience require it, then I "reply, yes! and I repeat it, yes! you and your "wives and your children ought to do it! We "ought to ſupport ourſelves with our own hands; "for better is it, to be ſupported by the ſweat of "one's own brow than by another's blood. O ye "riches of Maranham! What if theſe mantles "and cloaks were to be wrung? they would drop "blood."*

* Vieyra's firſt ſermon at St. Luiz. A.D. 1653, quoted in Southey's Hiſtory of Brazil, vol. 2, p. 479.

I almoſt hear during the diſcourſe, the occaſional clang of arms as men turned angrily about to one another, and vowed that this muſt not go on any longer. They heard the diſcourſe out, however, and went to dinner. After dinner, the principal perſons conferred together for a ſhort time, and then ſet off for the monaſtery, to make a fierce remonſtrance. When they had come to the monaſtery, which, from its poor conſtruction, might rather have been called a ſhed than a monaſtery, the Vicar, Peter de Cordova, received them and liſtened to their complaint. They inſiſted upon ſeeing the preacher, Father Antonio, declaring that he had preached "delirious "things," and that he muſt make retractation next Sunday. A long parley took place, in the courſe of which Peter de Cordova told them that the ſermon was not the words of one man, but of the whole Dominican community. The angry deputation exclaimed, that if Father Antonio did not unſay what he had ſaid, the monks had better get ready their goods to embark for Spain. "Of a truth, my Lords," replied the Vicar, "that will give us little trouble;" which was true enough, for (as Las Caſas tells us) all that the monks poſſeſſed,—their books, clothes, and veſtments for the maſs,—might have gone into

two trunks. At laſt the coloniſts went away, upon the underſtanding that the matter would be touched upon next Sunday, and, as the remonſtrants ſuppoſed, an ample apology would be offered them.

The next Sunday came: there was no occaſion this time to invite anybody to come to church, for all the congregation were anxious to come, rejoicing in being about to hear an apology to themſelves from the pulpit. After maſs, Father Antonio was again ſeen walking to the pulpit, and he gave out the text from the 36th chapter of Job, the 3rd verſe: "*Repetam ſcientiam meam a principio et operatorem meum probabo juſtum.*" Thoſe of his audience who underſtood Latin, and were perſons of any acuteneſs, perceived immediately what would be the drift of this ſermon—no whit leſs unſavoury to them than the laſt. And ſo it was. Father Antonio only repeated his former facts, clenched his former arguments, and inſiſted upon his former concluſion. Moreover, he added that the Dominicans would not confeſs any man who made incurſions amongſt the Indians, and this the coloniſts might publiſh, and write to whom they pleaſed at Caſtile. The congregation heard Father Antonio out; and this time they did not go to

Father Antonio's ſecond ſermon.

the monaſtery; but they determined to ſend a complaint to the king, and afterwards to diſpatch a Franciſcan (monk againſt monk) to argue their caſe at Court. Thither the coloniſts had already ſent two agents to plead for having the Indians aſſigned to them for two or three lives, or in perpetuity.

The Franciſcan choſen for this embaſſage was Alonſo de Eſpinal, and he went out in great favour with the inhabitants of St. Domingo, having all his wants amply provided for. The Dominicans reſolved to ſend their advocate; and found two or three pious perſons from whom they contrived to procure the wherewithal for his voyage. Father Antonio, as might be expected, was the monk choſen by the Dominicans.

When the letters from the authorities of St. Domingo, complaining of the contumacious conduct of the Dominicans, reached the King, he ſent for the head of their order in Spain, and made much complaint to him of the ſcandal which had been occaſioned in the colony by this preaching. Not long afterwards came the agents from the principal parties themſelves; Father Antonio on behalf of the Dominicans, and Father Alonſo on behalf of the coloniſts. The latter

was well received by the people in authority, had free acceſs to the king, and was much favoured by him. Father Antonio, on the contrary, was little friended, found official doors generally cloſed to him, and porters very peremptory. At laſt one day, after an ineffectual attempt to perſuade ſome porter, or door-deeper, to admit him to the royal preſence, he watches an opportunity while the porter is ſpeaking to ſome one elſe, makes a bold ruſh at the door, paſſes the obſtacle, and finds himſelf at once in the royal preſence, ſupplicating for an audience. The king ſpoke kindly to him, and in reply to his requeſt to be heard, anſwered thus, "Say, Father, what you "will." Father Antonio, accordingly, takes out his papers and begins his ſtatement. In the courſe of it, as an illuſtration of the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Indians, he mentions that ſome Spaniards ſtanding together joking, near a river, one of them took up a little Indian child, of one or two years old, and merely for the fun of the thing, threw it over the heads of the others into the water. He was heard to ſay, as he turned back and ſaw the little creature riſing once or twice to the ſurface, "You boil "up, little wretch, do you?" (*Bullis, cuerpo de tal, bullis.*)

Father Antonio has an audience of the king.

No one, as far as I know, has ever ſuppoſed Ferdinand to be a cruel man; and I ſhould think he would have had an eſpecial diſlike to wanton cruelty—to any waſte of wickedneſs. On hearing this ſtory, he exclaimed, "Is this poſſible?" "Not "only poſſible, but neceſſary," replied the Father, "for ſo the thing happened and cannot (now) be "left to be done."* He means, I ſuppoſe, that it has the neceſſity incident to a paſt tranſaction, of having been what it was. Then the monk went on to ſay, "Did your Highneſs command "ſuch things? I am ſure you did not." "No, "by God, nor ever in my life," replied Ferdinand. Father Antonio then reſumed his ſtatement, and the reſult was, that the King, after having heard it all, declared that he would give orders for the matter to be looked to immediately with diligence. Upon that the monk roſe, and, after having kiſſed the king's hands, left the royal preſence with the conſciouſneſs that he had amply juſtified his boldneſs.

The king was true to his word, and loſt no time in ſummoning a Junta to conſider the matter which Father Antonio had urged upon him.

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* ántes es neceſſario, por que paſó aſi, y no puede dejar de ſer hecho. *Las Caſas, Hiſt. Gen.* Tercera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 6.

A Junta formed to conſider the caſe of the Indians.

The Junta was formed partly of perſons belonging to the King's Council and partly of new men, chiefly Theologians. This plan of forming a Junta ſeems by no means a bad way of getting work done for a government; and the mixture of thoſe who had official experience, and who would have official reſponſibility, with thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be peculiarly cognizant of the principles upon which the legiſlation in the particular caſe ſhould proceed, appears a happy device. I cannot ſay, however, that this Junta ſhowed any great ſagacity in dealing with the matter in hand, though, I dare ſay, their intelligence reſpecting it was, at the leaſt, not below that of the principal men of their age and country.

Herrera ſays, that the Junta firſt conſidered the queſtion on the ground that the Indians were not free; and that afterwards Ferdinand reſubmitted it to them, ordering them to take as their baſis the words of Iſabella's will reſpecting the Indians. It may have been ſo; but I find nothing to ſupport this ſtatement; and am inclined to think that the following account, which is that of Las Caſas, is the true one.

He does not ſpeak of any interference on the part of the king with the powers of the Junta; but merely ſays that after having had many con-

ferences and heard evidence on both ſides, they
Deciſion of the Junta. came to a deciſion, which may be ſummed up thus—That the Indians are free; that they ſhould be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith; that they may be ordered to work, but ſo that their working ſhould not hinder their converſion, and ſhould be ſuch as they could bear; that they ſhould have cottages and land of their own, and time to work it; that they ſhould be made to hold communication with the Chriſtians; and that they ſhould receive wages, not paid in money but in clothes and furniture for their cottages.

Theſe propoſitions were put in due form and were given to the king as the anſwer of the Junta; and it was ſigned by Biſhop Fonſeca, who had all along had the management of Indian affairs, by Doctor Palacios Rubios, a learned juriſt and writer of thoſe days, by the Licentiates Santiago, de Soſa, and Gregorio, and by Thomas Duran, Peter de Covarrubias and Mathias de Paz, who were monks. Several of theſe perſons, afterwards, when they came to underſtand the queſtion better, favoured the Indians; and it appears that, even at this time, one of them, Mathias de Paz, was not ſatisfied with the deciſion of the Junta, for he wrote a work the ſubſtance of which was, that the king could not give *enco-*

miendas without the pope's leave, and he pronounced all that had hitherto been done in this matter illegal.

We may conjecture that Father Antonio was not idle during this period. He was ſtill much diſcountenanced by people in authority, while his opponent Father Alonſo, the Franciſcan, had free acceſs to the Junta and was made aware of its views and proceedings. The agents for the coloniſts were very active and no doubt furniſhed much evidence to ſhow that the Indians were idle, that they had no good polity amongſt them, that they ſhunned the Chriſtians; and in ſhort that if they were not to be ſavages, they muſt be ſlaves. Poor Father Antonio, who no doubt felt he could anſwer all theſe ſtatements, how he muſt have grieved at not being able to obtain a ſufficient hearing! At laſt he reſolved upon what will appear a very bold undertaking: he determined to convince his eſpecial adverſary, the Franciſcan; ſo, waylaying him as he came out of ſome monaſtery of his order in Burgos, Father Antonio told Father Alonſo that he wiſhed to talk to him, and thus commenced his addreſs. "Have you anything to take out of this life "with you but that ragged robe, full of unmen- "tionable inſects, which you carry on your

"ſhoulders?" This does not ſeem a winning mode of addreſs to begin with; but Father Antonio ſhowed more ſkill in the courſe of the converſation than would appear probable from the outſet. He told the Franciſcan that other men were but uſing him as a tool; that he was perilling the reward of a life of ſanctity in a matter which could not poſſibly benefit him; that he was doing the devil's work without being paid for it even in the devil's wages. He ſpoke to him touchingly, upon the treatment of the Indians, and appealed to his own experience as regarded the inhumanity he had witneſſed. And, ſtrange to ſay, the converſation between the two monks ended in the Franciſcan being entirely gained over by the Dominican, and putting himſelf under his guidance; ſo that he afterwards gave him information as to what occurred in the junta, which enabled Father Antonio to ſhape the caſe for the Indians more ſkilfully. The coloniſts, therefore, did not gain much by their ſpiritual ambaſſador; their lay ones, however, as implicated in the reſult as themſelves, were ſtaunch and buſy.

On receiving the anſwer from the Junta, the king's miniſters requeſted the Junta to draw up a body of laws in conformity with the principles

which they had affirmed in their deciſion; but this the Junta was unwilling to do, ſaying that they had laid down the baſis for legiſlation, and that, with reſpect to the particular laws which would be requiſite, they only had to obſerve that the more cloſely ſuch laws could be adapted to this baſis the better. Such appears to have been the line taken by the unofficial members of the Junta.

Meanwhile, whether on account of the ſolicitations of Father Antonio, or on account of the book of Father Mathias, which I imagine was publiſhed at this time, the king does not appear to have been ſatisfied with the principles laid down by the Junta, or at any rate, was willing that the queſtion ſhould be further conſidered; for he aſked an opinion in writing from the Licentiate Gregorio, who was one of the Junta, and alſo from Bernardo de Meſa, both of them king's preachers.

The king aſks an opinion from two of his preachers.

It muſt be noticed that the deciſion of the Junta, though not expreſsly mentioning the words *repartimiento*, or *encomienda*, is in ſubſtance built upon the reaſons which had led to the eſtabliſhment of theſe things in Ovando's time.

Returning to the king's Preachers, we find that Bernardo de Meſa's opinion was to this effect, That

Bernardo de Meſa's opinion.

eſpecial heed ſhould be taken in converting the Indians; that they were not ſlaves but vaſſals; that for "their own good" they muſt be ruled in ſome manner of ſervitude; that they had nothing but perſonal ſervices to give; that idleneſs is the mother of all evil; that, finally, the Indians might be given in *encomiendas*,—but not to every Spaniard, only to thoſe who were of good conſcience and cuſtoms, and who, beſides employing the Indians who ſhould be allotted to them, would inſtruct them in matters of Faith. If the Indians, he ſaid, were to remain under their Caciques, how could they learn the Faith? But while he concluded that it would be right to give the Indians in *encomiendas*, he was for their being well treated, and having regulated taſks allotted to them.

Bernardo de Meſa's opinion is in general well expreſſed and well reaſoned, that is, according to his erroneous facts and limited experience; but there is one dictum of his, which thoſe of us who are iſlanders may be inclined to queſtion. He ſays that it would be contradicting the goodneſs of God to aſſert that the Indians were not fit to receive the Chriſtian Faith; but that to maintain them in it and to teach them good cuſtoms, would be a matter of great labour, for as an inſular people, they naturally have leſs con-

ſtancy, by reaſon of the moon being the miſtreſs of the waters.*

The above ſeems too groſs a folly to do anything but laugh at; yet opinions grounded on little better reaſon, and empty phraſes thrown prettily together, and words far too big for the occaſion, (ſo that in the vacant ſpaces there is ample room for combuſtibles) are the things which, in all times, have to be tranſlated into various kinds of miſery and ruin. A miſt of fooliſh words comes down ſometimes, now as then, in a rain of blood.

The other Preacher was of the ſame mind as Bernardo de Meſa, but carried the concluſion further; for he (Gregorio) maintained that the king might juſtly inflict ſlavery upon the Indians for their idolatry — eſpecially ſuch a qualified ſlavery as that propoſed. Gregorio's opinion.

The opinion of the king's Preachers coinciding with that of the Junta, it was adopted by the King; and nothing remained but to carry it into execution. A ſet of laws was, therefore, drawn up by certain members of the King's Council, appointed for that purpoſe, taking as their baſis,

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* La naturaleza de ellos no conſiente tener perſeverancia en la virtud, por ſer Inſulares que naturalmente tienen menos conſtancia, por ſer la Luna Señora de las Aguas. *Las Caſas Hiſt. gen. de las Indias, Tercera Parte*, tom. 1, cap. 9.

that the ſyſtem of *encomiendas* was to be retained.

In their preamble theſe legiſlators pronounce upon the indolence and depravity of the Indians; and declare that the beſt thing which can be done at preſent, is to break up the Indian ſettlements and to place the Indians in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards: that thus both in body and mind the aborigines will be well cared for.

The laws were to the following effect:—

The Indians were firſt to be brought amongſt the Spaniards; all gentle means being uſed towards the Caciques, to perſuade them to come willingly. Then, for every fifty Indians, four Bohios (large huts) ſhould be made by their maſters. The Bohios were to be thirty feet in length by fifteen in breadth. Three thouſand *montones* (the hillocks which were uſed to preſerve the plants from too much moiſture*) of *yuca*, of which they made the caſſava bread, two thouſand *montones* of yams, with a certain ſpace for growing pimento and a certain number of fowls, were to be aſſigned for the living of theſe fifty Indians.

Food and lodging for Indians.

Every Spaniard who had an *encomienda* of In-

Religious worſhip.

* The Indians planted their potatoes, alſo, upon hillocks—a circumſtance which may be worth heeding in the preſent times. See Oviedo, Hiſt. Gen. lib. 7, cap. 4.

dians was to make ſome ſort of rude building for a chapel; in it was to be placed an image of the Virgin Mary and a bell. Prayers were to be read morning and evening—the Ave Maria, the Pater Noſter, the Credo and the Salve Regina. Beſides this chapel for each *encomienda*, there was to be built a church for the general neighbourhood, in which maſs was to be ſaid.

By theſe laws it was ſettled that the Indians appointed to work at the mines were to ſtay there five months; then they were to have forty days for holidays to till their ground in; then they were to go to the mines for another five months. Certain regulations follow about the food to be given to the Indians working at the mines or on the Spaniſh farms. Las Caſas grows furious in condemning the quantity and quality of this food as being utterly inadequate. Amongſt other arrangements, certain little fiſhes called ſardines are ordered to be eat on faſt-days. Such an order, as Las Caſas ſays, was ridiculous; for men employed in ſuch labours as the Indians were, would have no time for fiſhing, and it would have been impoſſible to bring a ſufficient ſupply of fiſh from Spain and convey it into the interior of Hiſpaniola.

Work at the mines.

The employment of the Indians in the mines is not only encouraged but inſiſted upon; for it is

ordered that a third part of each *encomienda*, or if the owner wiſh it, more than a third part, ſhould be ſo employed. Thoſe Spaniards who were very diſtant from the mines (one hundred leagues off) were not to be bound by this law. They might, however, be in partnerſhip with thoſe of their countrymen who lived near the mines. And in practice it came to this: that thoſe who lived near the mines furniſhed proviſions, and thoſe who lived far off brought Indians; ſo that this exception to the law only added to the miſery of the natives.

Wages. With regard to the wages, it was ordered that one peſo of gold ſhould be given annually to each Indian, to provide clothes with.

Then there was a law in favour of women with child.

Then followed a law which might have led to important reſults, but little good came of it. It

Viſitors appointed. was that Viſitors ſhould be appointed, two for each Spaniſh ſettlement; but theſe Viſitors were themſelves, to have *encomiendas;* and therefore we can hardly expect that their proceedings ſhould be conſiderate, or even impartial.

The Indian dances were forbidden.

Caciques. The regulations reſpecting the Caciques were, that they ſhould have a certain number of their

Indians ſet apart for their ſervice, (never to exceed ſix) and the Cacique with his attendants was to go to whatever Spaniard had the greateſt number of that Indian Prince's tribe allotted to him. The Cacique and his attendants were not, however, to be idle, but were to be employed in eaſy and light ſervices. Poor fellows! to come down from governing a people (which they did after their faſhion and not ſo badly) to looking after fowls!

Laws of Burgos.

The above laws were promulgated at Burgos, the 27th of December, 1512. Much cannot be ſaid in praiſe of their juſtice, wiſdom, or humanity.

My readers may recollect that the king, on receiving the complaints from the official perſons of St. Domingo againſt the Dominicans, ſent for the Provincial of that order and ſpoke to him about thoſe ſermons of Father Antonio's, doubtleſs blaming them exceedingly. The Provincial wrote to Peter de Cordova, the head of the Dominicans in St. Domingo; and in conſequence of that, or wiſhing to aid Father Antonio by his preſence, Peter de Cordova came over to Spain and preſented himſelf at Court. He was a perſon of great repute and authority; and when he had read theſe laws of Burgos and had expreſſed to the King his diſſatisfaction with them, Ferdinand

Peter de Cordova comes to court.

ſaid to him "Take upon yourſelf, then, Father, "the charge of remedying them, you will do me "a great ſervice therein; and I will order that what "you decide upon ſhall be adopted." "It is "not my profeſſion to meddle in ſo arduous a "matter," the Vicar replied. "I beſeech Your "Highneſs, do not command me." And ſo paſſed away one of the greateſt opportunities of doing good that any man ever had. Thoſe who have taken up a great cauſe muſt ſacrifice even their reſerve and their humility to it—often, perhaps, the hardeſt thing for a good man to do. And, as to reſponſibility, any one who is not prepared to take all the reſponſibility that may come of his moving in any matter, can with difficulty juſtify his moving at all in it. However, let us ſay as little as poſſible againſt Peter de Cordova, who was a very good man.

Peter de Cordova will not legiſlate for the Indians.

As Peter de Cordova would not take the arrangement of the Indian laws upon himſelf, the King ſummoned another Junta with two new theologians in it, to ſee if the laws could be ameliorated. Peter de Cordova aſſiſted at this Council; but did not ſucceed in doing much, though all that was done, was of very good tendency.

This Junta, in their report ſuggeſted certain additions to the laws of Burgos; namely, that

married women ſhould not be compelled to go and ſerve with their huſbands in the mines or on the farms; that boys and girls under fourteen ſhould not be employed in hard work, but only in matters of houſehold ſervice, and that, till their coming of age, they ſhould be under their parents or appointed guardians.

Additions to the laws of Burgos.

This Junta alſo recommended that the unmarried Indian women ſhould work in the company of their parents; and that the laws which applied to the clothing of men ſhould apply to that of women alſo.

Theſe ſuggeſtions, all of which have for their object the cultivation of family ties and of decorum, are good as far as they go, and deſerve to be commended. In the courſe of this report there is a ſentence, added probably by Peter de Cordova, or on his remonſtrances, which is important in principle, to the effect that if the Indians were to become civilized, then they ſhould be allowed to live by themſelves.* However, as Las Caſas intimates, if theſe people had lived to the Day of

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* Que por que con el tiempo y la converſacion de los Criſtianos ſe podrian hacer capaces y politicos para vivir por ſi é por ſi regirſe, ſe les diſe a los que tales ſe cognoſcieſen facultad para por ſi vivir." *Las Caſas Hiſt. de las Indias Tercera Parte*, tom. 1, cap. 18.

Judgment they never would have got their liberty in this way.

The Junta concludes by telling His Highneſs that theſe additions being made to the laws of Burgos "his royal conſcience will be entirely "diſcharged," and Las Caſas ſays "it is delight-"ful to ſee how free the King remained from the "ſins which were committed in the perdition of "thoſe people" (the Indians).

The ſummoning of theſe Juntas is the firſt occaſion of the grievances of the Indians being brought before the Court of Spain in a public manner; and theſe laws of Burgos are the firſt attempt at legiſlation to remove ſuch grievances. We may naturally make a pauſe here in the narrative, and paſs in review the main events and circumſtances of the hiſtory up to this time.

1418 to 1512.

At the time of paſſing theſe laws of Burgos, nearly a century had elapſed ſince Prince Henry of Portugal, ſuddenly reſolving upon his firſt expedition of Diſcovery, ſent out the two gentlemen of his houſehold to get beyond Cape Nam if they could, and to do what miſchief to the Moors might come in their way. Since then how changed and how enlarged a world it is! The whole coaſt line of Africa has been followed out, and the

Reſults of diſcovery during this period.

way by ſea to India aſcertained; the Atlantic has been croſſed; the moſt important of the Weſt India iſlands, Hiſpaniola, Cuba and Jamaica, have been diſcovered; nor is the continent of America unknown, though only the margin of a ſmall part of it is yet beginning to be colonized. Navigation, inſtead of being the childiſh, timid thing it was, has ſprung up at once into full manhood; and mariners now loſe ſight of land altogether, and yet go to ſleep as fearleſs as if they were in their own ports. Europe has become acquainted with new plants, new animals, new trees, new men; and theſe new things and creatures will not remain mere curioſities for the Old World; but will henceforth be mixed up with its policy, its wars, its daily and domeſtic habits, and become part of its neareſt anxieties. The finances of great nations and the ſuſtenance of numerous people will depend upon plants which our Spaniſh diſcoverers are juſt now beginning to notice, and are ſpeaking of with an indifference which ſeems almoſt wonderful to us who know what a large part theſe things are to play in the commodities of European life.

As regards the civil hiſtory of theſe new climes of Africa and America, much has already taken place in the courſe of this firſt century of modern

diſcovery, which fixes, if we may ſay ſo, the fate of millions of people to come. Already a ſlave trade is eſtabliſhed in Africa; already has the firſt inſtance taken place of coloniſts deſtroying aborigines (an example hereafter to be ſo frequently followed); already have the peculiar difficulties attendant upon modern colonization begun to be felt, and the firſt beginnings been made of ſtate papers, fearful to think of from their number and extent, to regulate the relations between the colony, the mother-country and the original inhabitants.

Other conqueſts of this century.

Nor, in other departments beſides thoſe of conqueſt and colonization, have the European men of this century been idle. They have invented printing — about the ſame time that they introduced a negro ſlave trade; and the two things will have a death battle for many generations. Literature has maintained its revival. Art may be ſaid to have culminated in a century which can boaſt a Leonardo da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, a Raffaelle, and a Titian. The ſcience of international politics has begun, for it was during this period that the policy of European nations became ſomething like what it is now, ſo that we feel as if we were immediately related to the men of that day, though if we ſtep back a few years

in hiſtory, men then ſeem ancients to us. Taking it altogether, this particular hundred years will only yield as yet to one other century in the annals of the world.

There is never wanting, however, the ſlave to ſit in the chariot at any mortal triumph. And when, with ſome knowledge of what has taken place ſince, we look over the proceedings of this century (eſpecially as regards theſe diſcoveries and conqueſts with which we are at preſent concerned) we almoſt feel as if nothing had been gained for humanity, ſo large are the drawbacks. Not that I can believe, and I truſt, reader, you think with me, that the world goes on toiling and ſuffering and aſpiring, yet gaining nothing; or that we are to conclude that the conqueſts and diſcoveries of this century were not a furtherance of the intelligence and the worth of mankind. But Ignorance and Evil, even in full flight deal terrible back-handed ſtrokes upon their purſuers.

Human triumphs not all gain.

In the very caſe before us, in this diſcovery of the Indies, what do we find? From want of underſtanding their fellow-men, from want of comprehending what ſhould be the firſt objects of colonization, theſe early diſcoverers are doing what they can to produce a diſplacement of human life which will be very miſchievous to as remote

a period in the hiſtory of the world as we can at all preſume to foreſee. It is probable that no conſiderable changes take place even in inſect life without affecting us—it may be largely: and what muſt we expect from abrupt extinctions and introductions of races of mankind in any country; which are ſo many ſhocks, as it were, to ſocial nature? What, but troubles and diſaſters of the direſt kind? And ſuch they have proved to be; large in themſelves, prolific in their nature, and of vaſt extent in their operation.

To follow out further the courſe of theſe things, till we come to the large and continuous introduction of negro labour into the New World, and to the ultimate ſettlement of the Indian *encomiendas*, may, I hope, be an endeavour fulfilled in a future volume.

THE END OF VOL. I.

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